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**FALSE ACCUSERS Accused;**

OR THE

**UNDECEIVED ENGLISHMAN:**

BEING

An Impartial Enquiry into the general Conduct  
of the Administration; and compared with  
that of their Enemies, whereby it will appear  
who merits *Impeachments, &c. &c. &c.*

In a LETTER to the

*Pretended Patriots.*

Very necessary to be perus'd by the ELECTORS  
and FREEHOLDERS of Great Britain, on  
their Choice of proper Persons to represent them  
in a new Parliament.

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*By a Member of the House of Commons.*

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L O N D O N:

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THE

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

BRITISH

An Imperial Edition into the general Good of  
the Administration; and compared with  
the most recent Practices, whereby it will appear  
that the same is as well as more

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Very necessary to be put in the hands of the  
and BRITISH MUSEUM  
then Office of property to be put in  
in a new Edition

By a Member of the House of Commons.

LONDON: Printed and Sold by J. Roberts, at the  
Law Office, in the Strand.  
Price One Shilling.



THE  
FALSE ACCUSERS Accused;  
OR THE  
*Undeceived Englishman: &c.*

GENTLEMEN,



S you have many Years valued yourselves on Account of the most incorrupt and publick Spirit of any Men in the three Kingdoms; and as in Consequence thereof you have blackned and reproached those in Power, and all who have supported the King's Measures, as being actuated by contrary Principles; and at length have had the Effrontery even to attempt a Parliamentary Impeachment of that Minister who has baffled all your Projects, it cannot, in Turn, be unseasonable to call *You* to Account, by taking a short Retrospection of your extraordinary Conduct. For I am apt to believe, that by an impartial Parrallel between your Conduct and that of the Ministry, you have so long oppos'd, all Men of common Sense will easily perceive who are the Men that merit the Resentment and Indignation of an injured People.

In comparing your Politicks with those which have deserved as well as receiv'd the Authority of three succeeding Parliaments, it will not be improper to remind you of the State of the Nation at the Accession of the present Royal Family to the Throne; that we paid three Millions a Year Interest for precontracted Debts; that the Exchequer was empty and the Kingdom in an open Rebellion. Before this rebellious Spirit was well laid, the Kingdom was again in a general Distress, occasion'd by the *South-Sea* Project, and publick Credit

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reduc'd to the lowest Ebb, which, you are sensible, did not a little contribute to weaken the Authority of our Prince at Home, and lessen his Reputation Abroad.

Had the Situation of our home Affairs been the only Difficulty the present Royal Family had to encounter, that would have given little Uneasiness to the present Administration. The *Utrecht* Treaty, as has been demonstrated over and over, was † so little comprehensive of the various Interests of *Europe*, that nothing but the unwearied Labours of the ablest Ministers could rectify, as Occasion offer'd, the Perfidiousness of those Negotiators.

From this general view of the State wherein the *Minister* found our Affairs, the simple Question is, upon what Plan of Policy a skilful Administration ought to act, consistent with the common Interests of a Trading Nation in our Circumstances ?

Hear what your great Oracle and Fellow-labourer the *Utrecht Treaty*-Maker says in his memorable Production *The Conduct of the Allies* : As a War, says he, should be undertaken upon a just and prudent Motive, so it is still more obvious that a Prince ought maturely to consider the Condition he is in when he enters on it; whether his Coffers be full, his Revenue clear of Debts, his People numerous and rich by a long Peace and free Trade, not overpressed with many burthensome Taxes; no violent Faction ready to dispute his just Prerogative, and thereby weaken his Authority at Home, and lessen his Reputation Abroad. For if the Contrary of all this happen to be his Case, he will hardly be perswaded to disturb the World's Quiet and his own, while there is any other Way left of preserving the latter with *Honour* and *Safety*.

To have immediately fallen in with the martial Spirit of a brave People in such Circumstances, must have prov'd the most weak and impolitick Measures; to have been supine, and inactive, could have been no better. Between all Extremes there is a middle Point, which true Statesmen soon perceive; this our Ministers have hitherto happily hit on, long maintained our Possessions, Rights, and Privileges of Commerce, as the Sequel will shew, without engaging in Wars, or without any other Dishonour than that imaginary one, that has filled the Noddles of those who have been Dupes to your Extravagant Projects.

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What other Way then was left but exerting the Arts of Address, and making such Use of our Naval Power as would best maintain our *Honour*, be least dangerous to our Interest, and least burthensome to Posterity?

Instead of hallooing a Minister down for pursuing the only Measures that could prove the Salvation of a People in our Situation; the Interest of these Kingdoms obliged you to give Weight, and Influence to those Councils, instead of raising a mad Spirit in the Nation against all Treaties and Treaty-making in general. For what does this imply but that it is more for the National Interests to draw the Sword upon every Storm in *Europe*, rather than endeavour to dissipate it by more moderate Councils? How then have your Politicks tended to the Advancement of our Commerce and Navigation, as you have made credulous Fools imagine? have you not eternally alarm'd the Populace with the Weight of our Debts and Taxes, and shew'd how our heavy *Duties* render it impossible for our *Countrymen* to work as *cheap* as our Neighbours, whereby *Manufactures* are set up in Foreign Parts, while ours at Home decline in Proportion? \* If this be the case, was not your Raillery against those Negotiations, which only could prevent the Increase of our Debts, the most effectual Step to increase the Weight of our Taxes, render our Manufacturers still *dearer* and *dearer*, and consequently empower other Nations, still more and more to supplant us in our Commerce?

If then the Circumstances of this Nation plainly pointed out to an able Ministry rather to negotiate than fight us out of most Difficulties that might arise in *Europe*, are not they the greatest Enemies to these Kingdoms who advis'd a different Plan of Administration? Let us behold then the *British Ministry* pursuing the Interest of this Nation in their Negotiations, and we shall find they have prov'd as little to the Dishonour as Disadvantage of our Country; and had not your inglorious Opposition so much prevail'd, both our Honour and our Interest might have been better supported.

When their Catholick and Imperial Majesties, in Consequence of the Blunders in the last Years of her late Majesty, projected the first *Treaty of Vienna*; and thereby, as has been often proved, to strike the most destructive Blow to our Trade

and Navigation, to dismantle us of our most invaluable Possessions, and overturn the Ballance of Power; When you imagined the Affairs of *Europe* were in so bad a Situation that a general Pacification could not be brought about without a War, then you, who have so loudly declaim'd against Negotiation pointed out the ill Effects of a War with *Spain*; which is a manifest Contradiction to all your Scribbling against our more peaceful Measures. Let your own political Cannon face you. ' We were informed, say you, by the Custom-house Books, that in the Year 1717 (which was the Year before our last unhappy Difference with *Spain*) our Exports thither amounted to the Value of Seven Hundred, Forty-nine Thousand, One Hundred, Ninety One Pounds; whereas in the Year 1719, they amounted only to One Hundred Forty Eight Thousand, Seven Hundred, Forty One Pounds; so that the Exports in the last of these Years were diminish'd by Six Hundred Thousand, Four Hundred, and Fifty Pounds; and you wish it could be made appear, that the same, or alike Difference, will not happen again in the like Circumstances.' \*

The same Sentiments you again confirm in another of your Productions, written ten Years afterwards; † where you expressly acknowledge, that in Times of War the National Revenue would diminish about 1,200,000 *l. per Annum*, what it has increased since the late War. That such a Diminution in the Revenue may happen, and must proportionably affect our Exports, and corroborate what you have before urged, is now certain from what we feel and experience.

From your own Writings then *Gentlemen* it appears, that you really approve in your Consciences that very Conduct which so long kept us out of Wars; and that all your Scribbling against Negotiation is only calculated to impose on those whom it is scandalous to deceive.

As the Interest, so the Honour of the Nation has been supported through the whole Course of our Negotiations. Where was the Dishonour of projecting the *Counter Alliance of Hanover* in Opposition to the first *Treaty of Vienna*? The Power of his *Imperial Majesty*, at the Time we are speaking of, did not appear less formidable than that of *France* at the Commencement of the *Grand Alliance*: And if the *Hanover*

\* *Craftsman*, Vol. I. \* Pag. 88.]

† *The Case of the Sinking Fund*, Pag. 127.



*never* Allies dissipated the Cloud that threatened *Europe* with a destructive Storm, was not this as honourable, and far more advantageous to *Great Britain* than if the same Cloud had been dissipated by War?

The *Dutch*, by the *Vienna Treaty*, were equally hemm'd in as in the late Wars by the *French*. As *France* at that Time seized the *Spanish Netherlands*, and turn'd out the *Dutch*, who were in Garrison there, whereby the Republick was depriv'd of her *Barrier*, contrary to the Treaty of *Partition*; so was the Republick in equal Danger from the Imperial Garrisons in the *Low-Countries* on one Side, and from the Forces of the King of *Prussia* on the other: As *France* in the late Wars had seiz'd the Citadel of *Liege*, possess'd themselves of the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*, and maintained Troops in the Country of *Woolsenbuttle*, in order to block up the *Dutch* on all Sides; so did his Imperial Majesty make Treaties with the Electors of *Bavaria*, *Palatine*, *Cologne*, and *Treves*, and other Provinces of the Empire, equally dangerous to the States of *Holland*, and consequently to the Maritime Powers: As the King of *France* kept in Possession a great Part of the *Spanish* Dominions, seiz'd *Milan*, made himself Master of *Cadiz*, and declar'd the Pretender King of *England*; so likewise was all *Italy* and *Spain* attempted to be united to the House of *Austria*, and a Stroke struck equally dangerous to the Honour of the House of *Hanover*.

If the Ballance of Power was in as much Danger of being subverted by the Machinations of the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna* as heretofore by *France*, was it not as much to the Honour of the *British* Crown to dissolve so formidable a Conjunction without a War as formerly to humble *France* by one? Did not the Court of *England* at this Time take Advantage of the Misunderstanding between *France* and *Spain*; and by the Address of the *British* Court, did not *France* exhaust Millions for the Security of the *British* Trade and Possessions, and for the common Interest of the maritime Powers? If our Negotiations drew *France* into our Measures, and prevented, not only their Union with our Enemies, but likewise their reaping the Advantages of a *Neutrality*, had we been obliged to have come to an open Rupture: As the *English Ministry* made the Power of *France* subservient to the Interest of *England*, you will not pretend to say, that such Negotiations were inglorious or prejudicial to *Great-Britain*. When we had gained *France* over to our Measures, did not, from that Moment, the *States-General* judge  
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themselves secure, and submit all to the Regimen of *English* Councils?

Lest our Alliances should not procure the general Repose of *Europe*, our Fleets were likewise dispatch'd to maintain by Force what our Alliances should not be able to accomplish by Negotiation. However our naval Equipments have been the standing Subject of your Buffoonery; yet did not they deprive the Courts of *Spain* and *Vienna* of that Treasure from *Spanish America*, which was the Life of the Alliance formed against our important Interests? Because the naval Power of *England* dissolved the Conjunction of our Enemies, quickened the *Treaty of Seville*, and produced the second *Treaty of Vienna*, which establish'd the general Peace of *Europe*: Because the Fleets of *Great-Britain* did this without striking a Blow, and had all the Success that could have been expected, even after a ten Years victorious War; yet have you not industriously propagated among your deluded Admirers, that such Conduct dishonour'd the *British Flag*? What! because the naval Power of *England* has, during the present Administration, been kept in such formidable Plight and Condition as the very Sight thereof, without firing a Gun, has brought our Enemies always to our own Terms, and glad to make an honourable Peace with us, have such Measures been ignominious to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, or any Way injurious to her dearest Interests?

Did not the like Measures maintain also the Ballance of the *North*, and produce an honourable and advantageous Treaty of Commerce with the *Muscovite*, which no other Nation has the Benefit of? Can any *Englishman* of an honest Heart, though of the most ordinary Understanding, be so imposed upon as to believe, either the Honour of the *British* Nation has been hereby sullied, or her Interest in the least neglected?

As you were Enemies to Negotiation in general, you certainly could not be pleased with any kind of Treaty whatsoever. But wherein were these Treaties dishonourable to *England*? Was not the *Seville Treaty* built on the pre-existent *Quadruple Alliance*? Was not the Succession of *Don Carlos* to the Dutchy of *Tuscany* and *Parma* thereby consented to before the present Ministry came to the Management of Affairs? Was not the Variation made by that Treaty, in agreeing to *Spanish* instead of *Swiss* Garrisons, the only Measure whereby *Don Carlos* could be secur'd

in the eventual Investiture of his rightful Dominions in *Italy*, on the Demise of the Great Duke? Did not the Honour of our Nation, which requires an inviolable Adherence to our Treaties, oblige us to make a Peace with *Spain* on such easy Terms? Were we not thereby freed from our Proportion of the Expence to have maintain'd *Swiss Garrisons* in *Italy*, and exempt from all those great Disadvantages you yourselves have confess'd, would then have been the Effects of a War with *Spain*? By this Treaty therefore the Ministry render'd those Stipulations effectual, for which the good Faith of the King, and the Honour of the Nation were before bound by subsisting Treaties. What would that Minister deserve, who should have presumed to advise his Majesty to have deferred for a Week only, the Accommodation of our Differences with the Court of *Spain*; when she required nothing of us but what we were bound, by prior Compact and the Laws of Nations, to have agreed to?

And however you have pretended to condemn this Conduct of the *British* Court at one Time, yet, it unluckily happens that you confirm it at another; as indeed you have by over-writing yourselves, every other Step of their Conduct. With Regard to our Treaties, hear your own Words again: 'A Treaty, say you, is the most sacred Engagement that can be enter'd into by Men; and how much soever it may have lost of the Solemnity by the Perfidy of some wicked Persons, who have had no Regard to their Faith or their Honour; it ought nevertheless to be esteem'd, both from its Nature and Manner of its Conclusion, the strongest Tye that can be invented. Kings ought to be strictly determined not to violate them, when once they are made; because, as they pretend to be the *Viceregerents of God* on Earth, it behoves them, in a particular Manner, to act with *Piety* and *Virtue*. Nay it appears that their Interest, as well as their Honour, makes it necessary for them to preserve their Faith inviolate, in order, to obtain the Confidence of their Neighbours, to gain Reputation Abroad, and be trusted again.' † Is not here your own Justification of the Treaty of *Seville* you have inconsistently pretended to ridicule and condemn? Do not your own Writings stare you in the Face, and give the Lye to all your political Sarcasm on our Treaty-making?

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† See *Craftman*, Vol. 7, p. 173.



What further render'd the Treaty of *Seville* unexceptionable by the Crown of *England*, was the natural Probability thereby offer'd, that his *Imperial Majesty* would likewise, for the Sake of his own Honour, he brought to unite in the same Treaty? For as the good Faith of his *Imperial* as well as of his *Britannick Majesty* was engaged by the *Quadruple Alliance*, to render the Succession of *Don Carlos* effectual; could any Measure more naturally conduce to bring about the desirable Pacification than by obliging his *Imperial Majesty* to a Compliance with his Treaties? And tho' the Court of *Vienna* would not be brought to render the *Quadruple Alliance* effectual, but on Condition that the *maritime Powers* would guaranty the *Pramattick Sanction*; yet, this being no more than their natural Interests, would it have been politick to have refused it, especially under those Restrictions and Limitations we were brought into it? And wherein could possibly be the Dishonour or Disadvantage to *Britain* or the *States General* to acquiesce in what is for their reciprocal Interests? Indeed you have declaim'd in various Parts of your political System, against all *reciprocal Guarantees* in general, shewing that as *England* is omnipotent, and independant of the Universe, and consequently has no Occasion for the Aid or Alliance of others; so she ought not to give her Guarranty for the Support of other Nations. What extravagant Trumpery is this! These Principles speak the great *Steers-Man* who has held the Rudder of your Opposition. Is not the the very Strain of the Politicks of 1712, in the memorable *Treat* before cited, where the Guaranty of the *Dutch* to the *Hanover Succession*, is ridicul'd in the same Manner as you have done our Guaranty to the Succession of the *Austrian Hereditary Countries*? Does not the one demonstrate as great a Regard to the Support of the Indivisibility of the House of *Austria*, as the other does your Attachment to the *Hanover Succession*? When the Court of *Great-Britain* refus'd this Guaranty upon the Terms it was first propos'd by his *Imperial Majesty*, then the Roar was, we ought to have came into it; no sooner did his Majesty do so, but your Note was changed, and 'twas then impolitick to do what you had before advis'd. So wild and extravagant have your Politicks been, that when the last *Treaty of Vienna* was concluded, you pretended to take the Merit of having advis'd it to yourselves, and boasted that the *Ministry* were beholden to you for the Hint; yet



yet soon after you condemn'd that very *Treaty*, you assum'd the Merit of having been the Authors of? But had his late Majesty acceded to this *Treaty* when only it seem'd wise in your Sight, might not *Great-Britain* have given her *Guaranty* to the aggrandizing of *Don Carlos*, and to such a Union of the *Spanish* and *Imperial* Crowns, which might have prov'd fatal to the Ballance of *Europe*? \*

Besides, 'tis a little extraordinary that you, who would persuade the Rabble that you have the Honour and Dignity of this Nation so much at Heart, should advise his Majesty to come into this *Guaranty* at the Time it was offered him; for, was it not propos'd by his *Imperial Majesty* at the Juncture that he had struck up the secret *Treaty* with *Spain*, so highly injurious to our Interests? Was not the Proposition then made to intimidate us into a Compliance, or divert us from discovering the Game that was then playing at *Vienna*? But our Ministers were not to be thus amus'd, either by your Projects, or the Finesse of the *Vienna* Allies. For, while *Britain* had been, as you advis'd, servilely cringing at the *Imperial Throne*, would not the *Spaniards* have run Home their *American Treasure*? Would not that have enabled the Allies to have supported with Vigour their reciprocal Pretensions to the Dishonour of our Councils, and perhaps the irreparable Injury of our Trade and Navigation?

While *England*, by following your Advice, had been ignominiously begging a Peace at *Vienna*, might not *France* have been detach'd, as his *Prussian Majesty* was, from the *Hanover Alliance*, the Animosities between that Crown and *Spain*, occasion'd by sending back the *Infanta*, subsid-ed, and they possibly have thrown their Weight into the Enemy's Scale, or been tempted to aim at the Advantages of a *Neutrality*? Had this been the happy Effects of your Politicks, what Reason have we to believe the *States General* would have acted in Concert with us? When they had found us stripp'd both of the Alliance of *France* and *Prussia*, *Spain* still more obstinate by our Application to *Vienna* instead of *Madrid*, is it to be supposed, that they, who were so well treated by *Esquire Oldcastle* at *Utrecht*, would have interpos'd in Protection of the *British West-India Commerce*, and the Preservation of *Gibraltar*, and both

Enquiry into the Reason of the Conduct of Great-Britain.

both which on other Occasions, you have declared they envy us?

With what Consistency could you, Advocates for the Trading Interest, advise rather treating with the *Emperor* first than *Spain*, when you have allow'd the Continuance of our Misunderstandings with that Court to be so detrimental to our Commerce? Had the *Ministry* regard your Whimsies, would not the Depredations on our Trade in the *West-Indies* have been much longer continued than they were? Would not you have then turn'd the Tables, and alarm'd the Nation that our Trade and Navigation were sacrificed in order to make Peace on any Terms with the *Emperor*; whereby, for the Sake of his *Majesty's* *German Territories*, would you not have told us, that the Character of the King of *Great-Britain* was prostituted to support *That* of the *Electors of Hanover*?

Regardless of your Frenzies our *Ministry*, blunder'd out that general Pacification, which your Politicks were contrived to obstruct. But the general Tranquillity was again disturb'd by the Demise of his *Polish Majesty*. However, our *Pilots*, again steer'd *Britain* clear of these *European Broils* also. While Wars ensued, which made every Country a Scene of Blood; which brought the *Russian* into *Poland*, the Armies of *France* to the *Rhine*, and the united Arms of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, into the Imperial Hereditary Countries in *Italy*: While this was the State of our Neighbour-Nations, did we not gain all the desirable Benefits of a *Neutrality*, extend our Commerce at the Expence of those whose who were embroil'd, and the *British Merchant, Farmer, and Country-Gentleman* fill their Coffers by the happy *Mediation* of the Crown of *Great-Britain*? While *France* fought the Battles of *Spain*, and spent Millions in *Poland*, on the *Rhine*, and in *Italy*, only for the Acquisition of *Lorraine*, which they were in Effect Masters of before: While *Spain* impoverish'd herself for the Sake of the *Neapolitan Crown*, at the Loss of the *Tuscan Territories*; and the *Emperor* and *Spain* were gallantly and heroically wasting their Strength, and rendering their Subjects poor and miserable, by their Contentions for Superiority in *Italy*: while their *Imperial* and *Czarish* Majesties were still exhausting their vital Strength, and destroying the very Nerves and Sinews of their respective States: While this was the State of *Europe*, has not *Great-Britain* acted a Part far more to her Honour and Interest, than those who have gallantly

gallantly wasted their *real* Strength for the Sake of *imaginary* Advantages? These are *Facts*; and such as are notorious to the whole World. If this be the Case, it will be ask'd how comes it to pass that the *Ministry* should be so long unpopular without Doors; why so many of our *Countrymen* imagine that neither the Honour nor Interest of the Kingdom has been regarded thro' the Course of our Negotiations? To this the Answer is very plain. So virulent and seditious has your Opposition been, that you have persuaded Numbers even out of their Common Understanding, by imposing more political Forgeries, Lyes and Misrepresentations upon them, for the Compass of Years, than ever the *Papish* Clergy did religious Ones on their blind Bigots and Devotees. By these Arts have your Patriots obtained your Popularity.

Popular Affection, when justly obtain'd, is the highest Honour which a Mortal can enjoy, and one of the surest Marks of public Felicity; for when Men possess the general Love of any Community, it is natural to infer the Community esteem them their general Benefactor; and certainly no Respect, Honour or Rewards, which the People can bestow, are too great to testify their Gratitude to those, who approve themselves worthy of that Character.

But Popularity, you allow yourselves, *Gentlemen*, is so often acquir'd by false Means, bestowed on worthless Objects, and apply'd to bad Ends, that a *Briton* cannot be too cautious on whom he confers it; the People are so liable to be imposed on by false Pretences, that we are not always to look upon their Favour as the Badge of real Patriotism, and a truly publick Spirit; for, on the contrary, we shall find that it is too often acquired by sinister Methods, in order to carry on some crafty and pernicious Design †.

Whether you, *Gentlemen*, are not those popular Patriots, you here describe, who have abused the Favour of your *Countrymen*, and perverted the good Disposition of a wise People, jealous of their ancient Liberties, will appear from this short History of your Politicks, which we shall now more minutely enter into.

When the Alliance of *Hanover* and our *naval Armaments* had render'd the *Spanish* and *German* Councils in a great Measure impracticable, and left room for those Negotiations towards a general Pacification which follow'd, then you, *Gentlemen*, began

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your Attack upon the Administration, not with any sober and instructive Enquiry into the Measures then pass'd and transacting, but with barefaced Abuses of the Persons and Characters of our Ministers, both at Home and Abroad; depreciating their Abilities in general, and setting their Characters and Transactions in a ridiculous Light. However little this could contribute to rectify any Mistakes in our Councils, yet it was admirably calculated to prevent the Success of those Negotiations that were entered into. For you well know that the Success of a *Minister*, in his treating with Foreign Nations, depends in most Cases, almost as much on the Esteem he is suppos'd to be in, and the Figure he makes at Home, as on his own personal Abilities; and that to such a Degree, that the ablest Minister will lose his Weight and Influence *abroad* as soon as he is suppos'd to have lost it at *home*.

Tho' the Forces engaged on the Side of the *Vienna Allies* consisted of 227,000 *Imperialists*, 70,000 *Prussians*, 60,000 *Spanish Troops*, and 30,000 *Muscovites*: Tho' his *Imperial Majesty* insisted on the Establishment of the *Austrian Company* in the *Netherlands*, and had enter'd into this Treaty with his *Catholick Majesty* to protect him in that Navigation both in the *East* and *West-Indies* to the apparent Injury of the *British Commerce*; and tho' the same Treaty was levell'd at dispossessing us of those important Fortresses, which are the only Protection of our *Mediterranean Trade*: notwithstanding this was notorious to all the *European Powers*; and tho' *France* and *Holland* acted in Concert with *Britain* to uphold the Ballance of Power, and prevent those Encroachments of the *Vienna Allies*, yet had not you, *Gentlemen*, the Confidence to tell the People of *England*, that this Alliance was a mere Bugbear, conjur'd up by the Ministers of *England* for them only to have an Opportunity to embroil the Affairs of *Europe*? As the great Plan of Conduct of the Administration has been to struggle with unwearied Application to preserve *Britain*, disengaged from the Distractions arising amidst the Potentates of *Europe*, and thereby to secure to us an uninterrupted Commerce, what a gross Imposition on the Common Sense of Mankind did you thus offer, by asserting that the *Hanover Alliance*, and our naval Armaments were made only to defeat that Danger which had no Existence but in the Imaginations of the *British Ministry*?

Supposing however there was any Truth in your Suggestion upon this Head, what Tools and Dupes do you make of the *Old Cardinal* and the *States-General* to be led by the Nose by the Chimera

Chimera of an *English Minister*? Instead of this proving to the World, the great Point you have ever labour'd; that our Ministers have been the Bubbles of the rest of *Europe*, does it not prove the direct contrary; that those very Ministers whom you have extoll'd for Wisdom, have been Dupes to those of *Great-Britain*? Take the *Vienna Treaty* therefore in what Light you will; be the Evils thereof either real or imaginary, must you not allow one of those two Points; either that the Measures taken to defeat it were wise and just; or that the Ministers of *France* and *Holland* were Fools or Madmen, and those of *England* led them in a String as they pleas'd, contrary to the Tenour of your Writings? But as you will never grant our *Ministers* have had this extraordinary Dexterity as to impose on those whom you celebrate as the ablest Ministers in *Europe*, are you not obliged to confess that the *Treaty of Vienna* was really what the *Hanover Allies*, represented it to be? Yet how has your political Lying and Infidelity prevail'd to the Surprize of all who saw thro' the Cheat and pity'd the Credulity of your Worshippers?

But this pretended Disbelief of the *Vienna Alliance* was only preparatory to the whole System of your popular Deceit and Imposition. For had you allow'd that Treaty to be what it really proved, how could you have exerted your Talents of Drollery on the *Hanover Alliance*, which prevented its threatened ill Effects? Apprehensive therefore of the happy Consequences of this Alliance, you spar'd no Art to dissolve it. When you pleas'd yourselves with the Hopes of seeing *Europe* in a Flame, for the Honour and Interest of your dear Country, did you not most zealously labour to draw *France* into the Advantages of a *Neutrality*, and incite them to break with, and even to turn against the *Hanover Allies*? To what End else did you propagate all your popular Jargon of *French* Perfidy and unnatural Alliances when the Enmity then subsisting between *Spain* and *France*, so naturally pointed out that Alliance. If *France* enter'd into that Alliance with a Design to trick us, were they not disappointed in their Views? Did not the Weight of their Alliance induce the *States General* to their Accession to the same, thereby hasten the Pacification, and save the Blood and Treasure of *Great Britain*?

Whatever the Designs of *France* were towards *England*, 'tis certain your Politicks were to excite them to a Dissolution of the *Hanover Alliance*, and prevent that Peace, which was the Consequence thereof. For let us suppose, the *Vienna Treaty*

was no Way levell'd against *France*, but only against the Interests of the maritime Powers, or particularly against those of *Britain* only, which is the lowest Light it could be taken in, must it not be traitorous to your Country, to attempt to draw off from our Alliance so weighty a Potentate, who was then engaged in our Interests? If by Address we brought *France* into our Measures, as must be the Case according to your own Supposition, and made them spend Millions for the Security of our Trade, and the Protestant Interest, is this to the Dishonour of an *English* Ministry?

With regard likewise to the *States of Holland*, what Effect could your Politicks be suppos'd to have, but to prevent their Accession to the *Hanover* Alliance? For you asserting that the Treaty of *Vienna* was of a different Nature to what his late Majesty represented it to his Allies, was not that calculated to infuse a Spirit of Jealousy into the *States General*, that we only aim'd at drawing them into our Quarrels, and making the Weight of their Alliance subservient to our Interests? If they had been made to believe as Thousands of deluded *Englishmen* did, and still do, by reading of your Politicks, that neither the Liberties of *Europe* in general were struck at, nor the Establishment of *Britain* in particular: If you could have prevailed on the *States General* to think that the Erection of a new maritime Power at *Ostend* was of as little Concern to them as you represented it to be to *Great-Britain*, what Consideration could have induced them to have acceded to our Alliances? Not merely to support us in our valuable Possessions and Rights of Trade and Navigation. Had the *States of Holland* as well as *France*, been influenc'd by your Frenzies, would not the whole Burthen of Opposition to the *Vienna* Allies have fell upon our own Shoulders? Whereas so wisely were our Foreign Affairs conducted that *France* and *Holland* bore their Quotas, in Proportion to the respective Injuries they were likely to receive. Is not this Demonstration that our Ministers have been extravagantly profuse in the publick Treasure, and the Dupes of all *Europe*?

That you might effectually dissolve the *Hanover* Alliance, and throw the whole Expence of defeating the Designs of *Spain* and the *Emperor*, upon *England*, you still went greater Lengths. For tho' the *States General* upon their Accession to our Alliance fitted out a Fleet of Eighteen Men of War, were at a great Expence in providing their Magazines, and putting their Barrier and Frontier Places into a good Posture of Defence: Altho' the *States* likewise augmented their Land Forces



Forces from 20,000 to 50,000 Men; and *France* in Conjunction with *Britain* and *Holland* also fitted out Twelve Men of War, augmented their Army to about 160,000 Men, besides their disciplin'd Militia, and propos'd sending of 12,000 of their *Swiss Troops* on the side of *Flanders*, upon Condition that *England* would take into their Service 12,000 *Hessians*: Upon these considerable Expences and Preparations of our Allies, could we consistent with our Interest refuse Compliance with so reasonable a Proposition, when our Well-being, as a Trading Nation was struck at?

If it be good Policy that the *States* should have a Fence, Rampart and Barrier || to keep *France* at a Distance when it may be necessary, was it not equally so that they should have something like it against the great Imperial Power, with which they were then so formidably environ'd? 'Tis true we had encreased our Land Forces from about 18,000 to about 26,000 Men, and the Parliament voted 20,000 Seamen, which may be reckon'd an Augmentation of about 5000 more Seamen each Year than in Time of Peace. But was this Augmentation including the 12,000 *Hessians* any way disproportionate to those of our Allies, especially when it is considered that our greatest Interests were at Stake? Our Naval Strength is certainly our grand Dependance; and 'twas that chiefly which dissolv'd the Conjunction of our Enemies, and brought them to our own Terms. But had we been so impolitick as to have rely'd wholly on our Fleets, might not our natural Ally, had the Enemy beheld them defenceless, been first over-run, and the maritime Power of *Holland* exerted against us, had your Clamour about the *Hessian Troops* been regarded by a *British* Parliament? And might not the Saving of Six-pence in the Pound, for a few Years, have cost the Landed Interest another Threescore Millions to have restor'd the Ballance of Power in *Europe*?

As your Patriot Politicks were contriv'd to divide the *Hanover Allies*, so were they admirably conducted to increase the Obstinacy of our Enemies, and spirit them up to a vigorous Prosecution of their Projects. For what could the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna* think, when Measures favourable to their Designs, were so warmly contend'd for in a *British Senate*; and our Nation divided, for no other Reason but because vigorous Resolutions were taken to destroy the *Ostend* Invasion of our Commerce, to secure the Navigation

Grand Alliance.

of the *Mediterranean*, and to maintain the Ballance of the North by our Fleets appearing at *Revel*? What Encouragement must it give the *Vienna Allies* to hear every Post of a popular Opposition to the Supplies for the Support of that Alliance, which alone could oblige them to desist from their unjustifiable Pretensions? Had the *Hessians* been disbanded, and the Subsidies to the King of *Sweden* contracted for, another groundless Topick of Clamour, not paid; would not *France* have drawn off their 12,000 *Swiss* on the Side of *Flanders*, and broke their Agreement for the Payment of their stipulated Subsidies to the *Swede* and *Dane* also? Would not this have been taking so much Weight out of our Scale, and possibly to have thrown into that of our Enemies, dissolving our Alliances, and leaving the *States-General* in unspeakable Peril and Confusion? For if with both the *Swiss* and the *Hessians* engaged on the Side of the *Hanover Allies*, and under the Plan of Operation we had form'd against the Enemy, they could not be brought to recede from their first Pretensions; had we discharged those Troops what could we have expected, but such a Peace only as the Mercy of our Enemy would have consented to? Was not this pleading the Cause of *Spain* and the *Emperor*, encouraging the former in their Depredations in *America*, and the other in their Project for a *new naval Power*, whereby to injure the Trade of *England* and *Holland*? Does not this shew that Discontent, and Malevolence will carry Men even as great Lengths to destroy the Honour and Interest of their Country, as private Interest ever has done to support the most destructive Ministry?

When by your Impositious Politicks, you had depreciated the Abilities of our *Ministers*, and render'd them unpopular at Home; and represented the Designs of the *Vienna Treaty*, the Point then in Dispute, as *harmless* and *fictitious*, might not both the *Germans* and *Spaniards* well form Hopes that those Opinions would take Place here, and produce such Change of Councils as would leave them Room to pursue their intended Scheme against the Interests of *England*? And indeed what else could be expected, but the highest Current of popular Rage against them whom you accus'd of having brought the Nation, into so difficult and expensive a Situation? And that not only by Want of Abilities and Mismanagement, but by direct *Falshoods*, and *forged Causes* of Quarrel; when it can never be forgot, that ever since you have charged the same *Ministers* for not quarrelling with our Neigh-

Neighbours, when you have imagin'd there has been more than sufficient Cause. Thus at one time have you accus'd the Ministry of quarrelling with our Neighbours without a Cause; at another, that they would not quarrel, when there has been sufficient Cause!

And what was the End aim'd at by this Series of Patriot-Iniquity? Was it not to give our Foreign Enemies Reason to expect such a Change in the Ministry, in Consequence of this Train of forged Accusations against them, as might render the Enemy still more dilatory in their Negotiations; that you might furnish yourselves with still greater Occasion, to support the Ferment you had rais'd against the Administration, for not being able sooner to bring about that Peace, which you only had disabled them from effectuating? To this End, was not all History ransack'd for the Names of disgraced Statesmen, whose Stories were tortur'd, and forced into Parallels, and the Ministry from Time to Time pull'd down, or executed, in Effigy, in a thousand different Tales, historical or allegorical? And were not those notable *Parodies* explain'd by your deluded Partizans in private Conversation to all the World both at Home and Abroad, to bring the Ministry into Contempt; whereby the Influence of their Councils might be damp'd, and the utmost Delay us'd at Foreign Courts, on Account of that Spirit of Faction you had rais'd under the Notion of the Spirit of Liberty?

That the Sanction of Parliament, from Time to Time, given to our Measures, might be no support to the Characters of our Ministers, nor interfere with those Expectations of a Change of Hands and Councils, which you had rais'd Abroad, have you not attack'd the whole Legislative Body itself; charged them with being corrupted by, and dependent on the Ministry? When a new One was to be call'd, how confidently did you promise a Change of Hands and Sentiments among them? When that Prophecy fail'd, and a second and third Parliament came into a like Justification of those Councils, do you not to this very Day continue the same libellous Treatment of the great Representative of the Nation?

Your inimitable System of Patriotism having rais'd a Party, the next Step was to set a Lecture on Foot, for supporting the Spirit of Delusion, which you did not scruple to call that of Liberty. These were the Letters written by that Traitor to his Country Mr. *Oldcastle*, wherein, under the Colour of Remarks on the Thread of *English* History, the Mi-



nistry was afresh represented as abusing their Power, and enterprizing on the Rights of the People; the Royal Family traduced, as supporting these Usurpations; and the whole Legislature vilified afresh, as abetting both the one and the other, while Examples are produced of Ministers disgraced, of Princes dethron'd, and Parliaments themselves oppos'd by direct Arms, and popular Insurrections; intersper'd here and there with pathetick Lamentations over the sinking and deplorable State of the whole Constitution; with strong Innuendoes that like Circumstances require like Remedies.

What a Scene of factious Iniquity and Corruption here presents itself to View! Sure you can never have the Confidence to say, *Gentlemen*, that this Conduct was likely either to demonstrate to the *People*, to the *Prince*, to the *Parliament*, or the *Ministry*, the pretended Mistakes in our Measures. Were not these detestable Arts practis'd to keep our Foreign Enemies steady in their Attempts against the Honour and Interest of the Nation; that you might have a Pretence to complain of that which you were the original Authors of? For need we go farther to look for the Causes of that Procrastination that preceded the Ratification of the Treaty of *Seville*? Were not those Delays and Pravarications abroad, occasioned by that national Ferment you had rais'd at home, with a View to defeat the Pacification, and give fresh Spirit to your Charge of Incapacity on our Ministers? Is it not therefore rather marvellous the Enemy comply'd so soon than that they continued inflexible so long.

When all Difficulties in our Negotiations were at length surmounted, and the Congress open'd, the *German* and *Spanish* Ministers had been very weak indeed, if without attending to the Event of so flattering an Expectation, as a Change of the *British Ministry*, they had in earnest set about the Work of a Pacification. If we consider how you renew'd the old Charge of Inability, and to what an audacious Height you carried the groundless Clamor, during this critical Interval, can it appear in the least strange, that the Allies of *Vienna* should continue steady to their Point, in Expectation of making better Terms for themselves, by the Encrease of our domestick Feuds, than were offer'd either by the projected *Provisional Treaty*, or by any other our *Ministers* could offer them consistent with the Interest of their Country? Is it any Way surprizing that our *Plenipotentiaries* found the Business of a general Peace, impracticable by the Means of a general Congress? Might they not have continued negotiating ineffectually to this Day, while  
our

our foreign Enemies had it in their Power by Delays to encrease those very Clamours in *England* whereon they founded their Hopes ? In such a Situation of our Affairs, were any probable Means left, of disconcerting the *Vienna Treaty*, but that of offering one or the other of the Allied Powers such Terms as would engage them in a separate Interest ? Was it not most consistent with the Interest of our Trade and Honour of the Nation to strike with the *Spaniards*, as soon as possible, especially upon such easy Terms as the *Seville Treaty* contains ?

No sooner was that *Treaty* concluded, but did you not as much exert your Patriotism to prevent the *Emperor's* Accession to it, as you had done before to defeat the *Treaty* it self ? Tho' his *Imperial Majesty* was a contracting Party to that Alliance, which gave *Don Carlos* a Right to those *Italian Dominions* ; yet did you not represent that *Treaty* as injurious and dishonourable to his *Imperial Majesty* as dangerous and detrimental to *England* ? Did you not do your utmost to make the World believe that the Body of the *English* Nation interested themselves in its Non-execution ? When you made this *Treaty* itself a new Topick of Accusation against the Ministry, would not the *Imperialists* have been blind to their own Interest, had they not taken so fair an Handle to delay their Accession, and stand upon Terms, when in that Case, as in all the preceding, those very Delays and Demands would be carried to the Account against those Ministers, on whose Disgrace they might justly found the Hopes of seeing the *Treaty of Seville* disavow'd here, and Things take another Turn in their Favour ? As the Peace of *Europe* drew nearer and nearer to a Conclusion, did you not very judiciously encrease your Opposition to prevent it ? As yet you had only call'd for, and in vain promis'd a Change of Hands and Councils in the Ministry ; but some more effectual Prospect was necessary to keep alive the Expectations of your Partizans both at Home and Abroad. To which End you artfully pav'd the Way in the Beginning of *Oldcastle's* Remarks ; where, after some trite Harangues in Support of the Spirit of Liberty, did you not produce Instances of Revolts and Revolutions as Examples how that Spirit acts ? Among which, can we ever forget your memorable Paper on the Reign of *Richard II.* where, do you not wickedly insinuate like Grievances, like Necessity for Redress, and like Capacity for doing it ; and that by Opposition in Arms to the King and

*Parliament* † ? And what had the Government done to excite this rebellious Spirit ? Truly no more than, as before taken Notice off, agreeing to render the *Quadruple Alliance* effectual for the Sake of a general Pacification, to which the Faith and Honour of the *British* Nation were at Stake. Was this sufficient Cause to spirit up the People, even to a Rebellion against the *King* and *Parliament* ? Tho' through the Course of those seditious Writings you pretend to lament our sinking Constitution and Liberties ; yet we defy you, *Gentlemen*, to shew by any Act either of his late or present Majesty, or the three last Parliaments, whereby our well-balanc'd Constitution has been any Way injur'd, or our Liberties in the minutest Degree infring'd upon.

That the Spirit of Rebellion might be effectually rais'd, though no other Foundation for it than your own Libels, did you not call strenuously for a Repeal of the *Riot Act* \* ; a *Reduction of the Forces*, and a new *Parliament* ; that the Populace thus blown into a Flame by your turbulent Remonstrances, and tumultuously assembled for new Elections might be fir'd for any mad Purposes your their *Incendiaries* should propose, while the Government was to be left without either a civil Power or military Force, sufficient to oppose them ? However little Probability there was you should obtain those your publick-spirited Desires, yet did not your very Demands astonish all sober Men at Home, and made them marvel what would be the next Fruits of your Patriotism ? If your Outcries were not comply'd with, they furnish'd you with fresh Topicks for Outrage against your Sovereign, and the national Representative, while they spirited up our Foreign Enemies, to chicanery and insult us, by debasing the Strength and Dignity of the Nation from causeless domestick Confusion. This was the Face your Politicks set on our Affairs at Home, while we were treating to bring the *Germans* to Terms that might prevent an hazardous and expensive War. How well such Kind of Patriotism, by encreasing Delays, and encouraging exorbitant Demands at the *Imperial Court*, promoted the Honour and Interest of your Country, let every sensible *Briton* judge. Can we suppose their Ministers so insensible as to hear the Trumpet of Rebellion sounding in our Streets, in Opposition to those

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† *Craftsman*, Vol. VII. p. 70.

\* *Craftsman*, Vol. VI. pag. 263.



Measures to which the *Court of England* then demanded their Consent, without making the best Advantage of that Spirit of Sedition you had so impiously rais'd in these Kingdoms ?

Still further to encrease domestick Anarchy by depreciating the Abilities of our Ministers, and by rendering the Councils of our Prince contemptuous, did you not most wickedly contrive *felitious* Foreign Correspondence, and forge *felitious* News to support your *felitious* Clamours against the Administration ? Did you not at this remarkable Interval confidently assert, that we were so much the Bubbles of *France*, as to suffer them to repair *Dunkirk*, and make it as navigable as ever, contrary to the Treaty of *Utrecht* ; when the *Fact*, you know, was that the Court of *England*, at that Time, had so much the Ascendency over that of *France* as effectually to prevent our sustaining any Injuries of that Kind ? Did you not affirm likewise in the Course of your libellous News, that at the Beginning of the Year 1730, a Negotiation was servilely begg'd, and carried on at *Vienna*, to break all other Treaties, and violate our Faith with all Nations, which reduced us to the Contempt of the whole World ; when the *Fact* was we were then secretly treating with the *Emperor* to support our Faith and Honour with all Nations, and bring about a general Peace ; which to your unspeakable Grief was happily effectuated ? Did you not likewise propagate at this Time that the *Spaniards* suffered their Governors with Impunity to countenance the Depredations of *Guárda Costas* ; when the *Fact* was that the Influence of our Councils so far prevail'd on *Spain*, as to oblige them to send for the Governors of *Hispaniola*, *St. Domingo*, and *Porto Rico* home in Chains, to answer for their Injuries to the Navigation of *Great-Britain* ? When *England* had established the Peace of *Europe* by the last Treaty of *Vienna*, did you not declare the Contents of it were not worth reciting ; that it was nothing but a Stock-jobbing Business to make certain great Men rich by picking of Pockets in *Exchange-Alley* ? When that Treaty had abolished the *Ostend Trade*, which must have proved highly detrimental to that of *Great-Britain*, did you not confidently assert in your *forged News*, that the *Ostend Company's* Stock rose thereupon 60 per Cent. when the *Fact* was it dwindled away to nothing ? Did you not declare the Treaty of *Vienna* would destroy the Ballance of Power in *Europe* ; for that thereby the *House of Bourbon* would be disproportionably aggrandized by *Don Carlos* being designed to marry the *Emperor's* eldest Daughter, and

and would ascend the *Imperial Throne*, have immediate Possession of *Bohemia, Hungary, Milan, Mantua*, and the *Netherlands*; that *Spain* would thereby recover the *Seven Provinces*, over-run the Republick of *Holland* in one Campaign, and prescribe Laws to other Sovereigns? These Events you propagated would be brought about by our *Guaranty* of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; which not only shews what political Prophets you are, but do not these Libels confirm the Truth of those very Apprehensions the Crown of *England* had of the bad Effects of the first Treaty of *Vienna*, had such a Marriage between *Don Carlos* and the eldest *Archduchess* taken Place, as was then intended by the Courts of *Spain* and *Vienna*?

When the *Imperial Court* had acceded to the Treaty of *Seville*, did you not falsely tell the People of *England* in the Course of your News, that an Alliance was negotiating between the *Emperor, England, and Holland* only, *Spain* looking upon the Non-execution of the Treaty of *Seville* in Favour of *Don Carlos*, such an Infraction of the Treaty as to free that Court from all its Engagements with *England*? When the *Fact* was, that we had agreed to the Execution of that Treaty in Favour of *Don Carlos*, and the Peace of *Europe* was thoroughly settled in Consequence thereof. For the Truth of all these Accusations, and many more which might be exhibited against you, turn to the News of your Two-penny Libels for the Year 1731.

To crown the numerous Train of your Misrepresentations at this important Juncture, out comes your memorable *Hague Letter* to keep up the Infatuation, and distress the Ministry to the last Moment before the Peace was concluded. That you may behold yourselves in your own Mirror, it may not be amiss to lay the Workmanship of your own Hands before you for that Purpose. You may otherwise have forgot what Kind of Patriots you are, if your Memories are not refreshed with an Enumeration of your extraordinary Transactions—What renders this necessary, is it being worthy to be recorded among those *Facts*, which carry Conviction with them to the many, as an Induction of Reasoning, does to the judicious few.

\* *Extract of a private Letter from the Hague.*

‘ A Rumour hath been for some Time privately spread  
 ‘ about and begins to gain Credit here, that a Misun-  
 ‘ derstanding will soon discover itself between the Allies of  
 ‘ *Seville*, and that *certain Ministers*, having at length found  
 ‘ out that too close a Union with *France*, and a War upon  
 ‘ the Foot of the Treaty of *Seville*, are quite against the  
 ‘ Grain of the People, are endeavouring to bring about an  
 ‘ Accommodation with the *Emperor*, and to undoe every  
 ‘ Thing they have been doing for these *five Years past*.

Does not this Period contain two or three of the boldest  
 Lyes, that were ever dasth'd out with a Pen? 1. *The Rumour*  
*of a Misunderstanding*, of which this was rather a Prophecy  
 than a History; for the Misunderstanding did not commence  
 till this Letter was actually translated and printed in foreign  
 Papers; and from this the *Marquis de Castellar* took his Ac-  
 count of the last *Vienna Treaty*, when he made the Declara-  
 tion that his Master took the Treaty of *Seville* to be thereby  
 dissolved; which Declaration did he not immediately revoke  
 upon seeing his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of the Parliament  
 afterwards? 2. *That the Accommodation with the Emperor was*  
*to undoe every Thing that he had been doing for five Years past*.  
 Did not a little Time prove beyond Contradiction, that the  
 chief Design of the *Vienna Treaty* was to carry the Treaty  
 of *Seville* into Execution by Consent of all Parties, and there-  
 by confirm and ratify what had been doing for *five Years past*?  
 That is to say, contriving a general Peace, which by Steadi-  
 ness in Measures was soon after brought to Perfection, not-  
 withstanding all those scandalous Artifices to defeat it.

‘ If this should prove true, continues your Letter, it will cer-  
 ‘ tainly redound very much to the Honour of *these Genslemen*,  
 ‘ who have so vigorously opposed the *late Measures*; and the  
 ‘ *Ministers* who have not only concerted and pursued *these Mea-*  
 ‘ *sures*, but loaded all Opposition to them with the foulest Im-  
 ‘ putations, will be obliged to take a great deal of Shame to them-  
 ‘ selves; for what can be a stronger Condemnation of their  
 ‘ own

\* *At the Time of Publication it was reckon'd an Error of the Press*  
*to date this Letter from the Hague: The Invention, the Malice, and*  
*the Drift of it plainly discovered it came from Dawley, and all Con-*  
*noisseurs have ever since read it so.*



' own *past Conduct*, or the *Conduct* of *those*, whom they  
 ' have employed to write in their Cause, than to see them  
 ' wheel about all on a sudden and pursue Measures directly op-  
 ' posite, which have been pointed out to them, for several  
 ' Years together, by their *Adversaries*; for which they have  
 ' represented *those Gentlemen*, in the most opprobrious Colours,  
 ' as *seditious Incendiaries*, *germaniz'd Patriots*, and Enemies  
 ' to their Country? What can be more ridiculous than to see  
 ' them desert one *Ally*, whose *good Faith*, *Sincerity*, and even  
 ' *Cordiality of Friendship*, they have so often extolled; and at  
 ' last run into the Arms of *another*, whom they have so indus-  
 ' triously set forth as the most *dishonourable*, *ungrateful*, and  
 ' *perfidious Prince*? They must have altered their Opinion of  
 ' *this Prince* very much (if this Report is true) and seem to rely  
 ' upon his *good Nature*, by putting themselves thus absolutely  
 ' in his Power; for if he should refuse to deal with them, after  
 ' the *Usage* he had received, they will be broke with all the  
 ' Courts of *Europe*; and he cannot be sensible of their Perfi-  
 ' dy to *others*, at the same Time that he is treating with  
 ' them. How will they be able to justify those *vast Expens-*  
 ' *ces*, which they have already brought upon their Country,  
 ' by an obstinate Perseverance in *other Measures*, till the last  
 ' Extremity; as well as those farther *Expences* and *Ha-*  
 ' *zards* in which such a precipitate Alteration of Councils,  
 ' in the present Circumstances of *Europe*, will certainly in-  
 ' volve it? For though the *Measure*, which is now said  
 ' to be secretly carrying on, was certainly the most eligible  
 ' whilst they remained unembarrassed with Engagements of  
 ' another kind; and though it must be confessed to be very  
 ' desirable at present; yet it seems to be attended with  
 ' very fatal Consequences and almost insuperable Difficul-  
 ' ties.'

This long Period, which is built upon the *Lye* broached in  
 the last, still blundered on in the Dark, asking many imper-  
 tinent Questions, abused our Ministers at all Events, accused  
 them of Guilt and Perfidy; saying they broke with all the  
 Courts of *Europe*, and instructed the *Emperor* how to make  
 an Advantage of them. Herein you discover'd as much Igno-  
 rance as Malice; for was not the *Vienna Treaty*, at that  
 very Time, ripe for Signature? But what cordial Advice did  
 you here give to the Courts of *Europe* to distress the Affairs  
 of *England*?

' The People of whom I am speaking, proceed you, had  
 ' their Hands at Liberty, *five Years* ago; and might have  
 ' entered

‘ entered into what Measures they pleased with the Emperor, without giving Umbrage, or any just Reason of Complaint to other Courts ; but at present they cannot do it without an Infraction of *solemn Treaties*, and drawing upon their Country the Resentments which usually attend *Violations of Faith*.’

Here is a Repetition of the first *Lye*, with a small Variation; for did not the Event prove that the Ministers did agree with the Emperor without any Infraction of *solemn Treaties* ; and preserve the *Faith* and *Honour* of the Nation inviolate ?

‘ One immediate Effect of this Resentment, say you, may be the Interruption of Trade, and the Seizure of that *vast Pledge*, which *Spain* hath at this Time in her Hands ; so that the only pretended good Effect of their former *Conduct* may be absolutely defeated by their *present Scheme*.’

Ought not this kind Advise to the *Spaniards* to commit their Ravages and Depredations on us to have stuck in an *Englishman's* Throat ? Notwithstanding your propheticall Affectation of seeing so many future Dangers, did any such Effect happen ? Trade was open, and the *Spaniards* did not take your Advice, and seize the *vast Pledge* you thus prompted them to secure. Darling Advocates for the Trading Interest !

‘ Another necessary Effect, continue you ( for so I think I may call it ) of such a Measure, at present, will be a Conjunction of *France* and *Spain* ; and a certain Court may have the Mortification to see those *two Crowns* united against them more strongly than ever, by their extraordinary Management, after they have spent so many Millions to prevent it. I am far from insinuating from hence that an Accommodation with the Emperor is a wrong Measure. On the contrary, I wish it had been thought a right Measure long ago.’

This Prophecy, which was so strongly urg'd, prov'd an Untruth also, the last *Treaty of Vienna* occasioning no Misunderstanding between *England* and *France*, nor being any Way instrumental to unite *France* and *Spain*, tho' it was what you so ardently wish'd for.

You conclude thus ; ‘ My only Intention is to shew how difficult, in my Aprehension, the Conduct of some Ministers hath render'd it to their Country as well as dishonourable to themselves by carrying along with it the severest Censure of their own Conduct, and the strongest Justification of their Adversaries, against all the Aspersions, which have been cast upon them. — I cannot take upon me to justify the

' Truth of this Report ; but as it hath been pretty confidently buzz'd about, I thought proper to let you know what is said upon it ; and if it should appear to have any Foundation, you may expect to hear farther from me on the same Subject.'

Now let any Man of common Sense, or Honesty judge, whether your numberless Fallhoods and infamous Misrepresentations of all publick Affairs, for many Years together, do not carry along with them the severest Censure on your own Conduct, and the strongest Justification of the Measures of the Administration ; whether you have not render'd it dishonourable to yourselves, and difficult to your Country to support its true Honour and Interest, thro' such a Series of Obstacles you have laid in its Way ; and whether your Popularity has not been solely owing to the constant Practice of this great Art of *Political Lying*.

And if Truth is one of the best and surest Bands of human Society and Commerce, as it always has been esteemed ; then *Lying*, to use your own Words, || is one of the greatest Crimes that can be committed against Society, and the *Liar* should be placed in the first Rank of Criminals, and be looked upon, like a *Pirate*, as a common Enemy to Mankind ; and the higher his Station happens to be in the Society, the more his Guilt encreases ; as does the Mischief, which necessarily attends it. A known *Liar*, in common Life, is seldom believed, even when he speaks the Truth ; and *political Liars* must expect the same Fate. When the People find themselves deceived, and trick'd for several Years together, they will give no farther Credit to the Promises, or Assertions of such a Man ; but turn downright *Infidels* to every Thing he says, or does, however plausible his Pretences may be.

These, *Gentlemen*, are your own Sentiments upon the Regard that the Publick ought to shew to *political Liars* ; and we are under little Apprehension but this will soon be your own Fate, if *Englishmen* will attend to the plainest Truths, which so importantly concern their Interests.

What End could such Forgeries answer but to dishonour and injure your Country ? Is it not demonstrable that this Course of Writings has been a continued Weight on our own Measures, and a Spring to those of our Enemies,

tended



tended much to diminish the real Effects of our Councils rather than to remedy their pretended Imperfections; and this to such a Degree that were a just Calculation made, perhaps the better Part of those *Delays*, and consequently of that *Expence* which you have so constantly exclaimed against, would appear to have arisen from this your own Treatment of our foreign Transactions, and from the Representations you have made of the Opinions and Inclinations of the People concerning them. For as your Faction increased in *Britain*, did not her natural Power, and Influence in *Europe* diminish; and diffuse a Languor and Weakness, in the Enemy's Eye, over all our Councils? And if from internal Causes, we lose our external Weight, must not that Loss, to support the Dignity of the Kingdom, be supply'd some other Way? Must not the *Purses* of the People always pay for the Spirit and Encouragement they give to Faction? *Ministers* may be shifted, and Measures changed, till we become the Shittle-cocks of *Europe*, but the Evil will still remain; every Faction would, by the same Means, have it in their Power to disconcert the wisest Measures, and the Nation always reduced to the Necessity of cutting through with the Sword, at a vast Expence and Hazard, every Dispute, which might easily and safely be got over without it.

Does not all your Declamation therefore on the Management of the publick Money; all your Exaggerations of our *Debts* and *Taxes* prove only to be *Blinds* thrown before the Eyes of the Populace to skreen that Profusion of Treasure, your Measures were calculated to run the Nation into; in order still more and more to keep up that Spirit of bitter Reviling and calumnious Accusation? For, as at such a Crisis nothing could contribute more effectually to ease our national Expence, than an hearty *Coalition* amongst ourselves; so, could any Conduct more effectually tend to exhaust the Riches of the Kingdom, and increase our Debts and Incumbrances, than the Creation of such causeless intestine Discord? If more of our *national Debts* therefore have not been discharged; if the *Sinking Fund* has been applied to the *current Service* rather than to the Payment of our old Debts, to whom are we beholden but to you who have so zealously struggled to distress our Councils; who in the most delicate *Situation* of publick Affairs have endeavoured to divide our Foreign Friends, and strengthen the Hands of our Foreign Enemies?

And while our Neighbour-Nations have judged us a divided People, and that our Ministers were daily liable to be shifted and Measures changed, can we be so ridiculously thoughtless as to imagine they would not take every Advantage over us in their Power, spin out their Negotiation, and violate the most solemn Treaties? Would the *Spaniards* have presumed to have committed unwarrantable Depredations on our *West-India* Commerce, had not you excited them to it, by the strongest Exclamations and Remonstrances against the Conduct of the *South-Sea Company*? For it is very observable, and ought never to be forgot by the *Merchants* of *England*, that while *Spain* and the *Emperor* were united against our Interests, you spar'd no Pains to aggravate the clandestine and contraband Trade, you said, was carry'd on in *America* under the Company's Sanction. This you represented not only highly injurious to the Company it self, to the fair *Spanish* and *West-India Merchant*, but as greatly detrimental to *Spain* and contrary *Treaties*.

Indeed you thought proper to disguise this Intelligence to *Spain* under various Shapes; as sometimes under the Pretence of a Scrutiny into the corrupt Management of the Company's Affairs in general \*; at other Times under the Pretext of giving the Publick an Account of the Management, Fall, and Consequences of the *Portuguese Assiento Company* †, and sometimes in direct Discourses against all trading Companies in general ‡, and the *Assiento Trade* in particular: Under these specious Pretences you laid before the Court of *Spain* all the little private Practices of contraband and illicit Commerce rumur'd to be carry'd on in the *Spanish West-Indies*; and as you insinuated, to the no inconsiderable Prejudice of that Crown, and the great Declension of their *Finances* at *Old Spain*.

Upon these Topicks you loudly declaim'd so early as *September* 1727; and your Writings being from Time to Time transmitted to the Court of *Spain*, can we suppose they did not instigate them to commit those Depredations previous to the Treaty of *Seville*? Nay, from the Year 1727 to 1729 your Writings upon this Head were very pathetick; and was not this the Point of Time that the most Depredations were carry'd on in the *West-Indies* prior to the Treaty of *Seville*?  
Where-

\* *Craftsman*, Vol. II. Pag. 119, 120, &c. Vol. III. Pag. 40, 52, 75.

† Vol. II. Pag. 140.

‡ Pag. 123, 248, 303.

Wherefore may we not justly ascribe both the Detention of the *South-Sea Company's* Effects, and every other Kind of Injury they have received from *Spain* to your Writings, which represented their Practices in *America* infamous and corrupt, greatly prejudicial to *Spain* as well as injurious to the *English* private Merchant? Is it to be supposed that when *Spain* was at Variance with us, and were glad of any Pretext whereby to justify their Pretensions, that they would not take Advantage of these Outcries against the *South-Sea Company*, and of all clandestine *British* Traders to *America*, when you pointed out to them, the great Injury they sustained thereby?

Had you, *Gentlemen*, that true Regard to the trading Interest you have pretended, would you not have been quite silent upon so tender a Subject; at so peculiar a Conjunction? Instead therefore of your being any Way concerned, either for the Interest of the *South-Sea Company*, or that of our private *West-India* Traders in general, is it not demonstrable from your own Works, that you earnestly rous'd the *Spaniards* to commit the Ravages they have done; that you might have the Satisfaction of keeping alive your ill-deserved Popularity, by aggravating those very Depredations; which your own Writings prove you to have been the first Instruments of; and your Outrage against the Ministry the Cause of their Continuance?

As you were the Men who first raised Suspicion in the *Spaniards*, that they receiv'd great Prejudice in *America*, both from the *South Sea Company* and private *English* Merchants, which has occasioned all our Differences with that Crown; so have you left untry'd no Arts to create a Misunderstanding between the *Ministry* and *Merchants* in general; by warmly contending at other times that the Government should protect Traders in general; with a View to ingratiate yourselves with all; in order to lay the Ministry under the greater Difficulty with foreign Nations, in obtaining Satisfaction for past Injuries and Security for the future? Was not this the most effectual Way to sow Dissentions between the *Government* and the *Merchants*? to make his *Majesty*, the *Parliament*, and *Ministry* imagine that no Measures would satisfy them in general, but Protection of all *unlawful* and *contraband* Commerce as well as that to which they have an undoubted Right to be protected in? Was not this calculated by you to soothe and cajole *some* in their dishonourable Practices, and to give Birth to a Misunderstanding between the governing Power and the trading Interest of this Nation, the better to give Weight to your Faction?

Maugre



Maugre all your Endeavours to widen the Breach between Spain and England, the general Tranquility was restor'd. But the Affairs of Europe being in a constant Fluctuation, became again disturb'd by the Death of the late King of Poland, and your Conduct at this Time was as remarkable as it had heretofore been.

Instead of your advising what Measures were requisite for Great-Britain to take, upon the vigorous Attempt of France, to set Stanislaus on the Polish Throne; did we not behold you in silent Transport, brooding o'er the Confusion, and enjoying the Storm?

You at length told us indeed, *that the Situation of Affairs at this Time was surrounded with so many Difficulties on every Side, by the ill Conduct of the English Ministry only, that the wisest Men in England would be at a Loss to judge what was most expedient in such a Crisis; that we could take no Part in those Disputes without wounding our Honour, or betraying our Interest; and those Persons, who had entangled us in those Difficulties, were the most unlikely to work us out of them again. For how, say you, can they speak to foreign Courts with that Dignity and Authority, which are necessary upon such an Occasion, when they have already dealt with every one of them, and disoblig'd them all in their Turns* || ? The Drift of all this was to make another Effort for Power, and to obtrude yourselves into his Majesty's Service. For though you represented the State of our Affairs to be in so deplorable a Situation, *that Men must have been quite drunk, and even mad with the Lust of Power, to covet it on such Terms; yet so great was your pretended Zeal for his Majesty's Honour, and so generous your Design of rescuing your Country out of its Difficulties at that Time of Day, that you were induced to undertake the publick Service upon these Considerations only* †.

With what Face could Gentlemen presume to make his Majesty a Tender of their Services, and pretend to have his Honour at Heart, when they had not only labour'd to render his Councils ridiculous at every Court in Europe, but treated his Royal Person in the most outrageous Manner? But however difficult the Management of Affairs might appear in your Sight, yet his Majesty had too long experienced the

|| *Politicks on both Sides*, p. 66, 67.

† *Ibid.* 68.

the Abilities of his Ministers to doubt the future Success of their Councils.

When the *Emperor's* Forces were driven out of *Italy*, excepting those which remained block'd up in *Mantua*; when the Course of the *Rhine* was open to the Armies of *France*, it seemed reasonable enough to yield the *Emperor* those Succours, he desired to preserve his Dominions intire in his august Family. Yet reasonable as this might seem, did not the Circumstances of Time, and the Situation of Affairs oblige *Great-Britain*, rather to assist the *Emperor* by the Applications of her Councils, than the precipitate Interposition of her Arms?

Would it have been for the Interest of *England* to have engaged in a War with *France* without the Concurrence of the *Dutch*? With what insuperable Difficulties such a War must have been attended, wherein we alone should engage as *Auxiliaries* to the *Emperor*, is easier conceived than represented.

Instead of fighting the Battles of others without giving them Time to exert their own Strength, did we not wisely lay cool to see the Effect of *Dutch Councils*, who were so much more nearly concerned to give a Check to the Power of *France*, should it have grown too exorbitant? Was not this following the very Politicks of your Arch-leader in the Year 1727, who says, ' Whenever the Ballance is in real Danger ' by the exorbitant Growth of one Power, or by the Union ' of more, other Princes and States will be alarm'd of ' Course. All of them ought, and most of them will take ' Measures for their common Security. But the wise Councils ' amongst them will upon every such Occasion proportion their ' Measures, and the Engagements they enter into, not according to the Nature of the Danger consider'd generally, but ' according to the immediate or remote Relation which it has ' to each of them, and according to the Strength, Situation, ' or any other Circumstance which may be peculiar to each ' of them.

' To do otherwise, would be to lose Sight of our own ' particular Interest in the pursuit of a common Interest. It ' would be nothing better than setting up for the *Don Quixotes* of the World, and engaging to fight the Battles ' of all Mankind. The State, which keeps its own particular Interest constantly in view, has an invariable Rule to go ' by; and this Rule will direct and limit all its Proceedings ' in foreign Affairs: So that such a State will frequently take

\* no Share, and frequently a *small* Share in the Disputes of its Neighbours, and will never exert its *whole* Strength but when its *Whole* is at Stake. But a State who neglects to do this has no Rule at all to go by, and must fight to negotiate, and negotiate to fight again, so long as it is a State; because as long as it is a State there will be Disputes among its Neighbours, and some of these will prevail at one Time and some at another, in the perpetual Flux and Reflux of human Affairs. \*

Upon these your own Principles, were the Measures of the Administration conducted; and not only at this Crisis, but indeed with Regard to the Management of our foreign Affairs in general. With what Grace therefore you could ever afterwards pretend to censure those Measures would be something irreconcilable, was it not your ill Fate fully to justify, at one Time, what you have unfortunately condemned at another?

When the Success of the Arms of *France* against the *House of Austria* render'd it necessary that *Great Britain* should not wholly remain an unconcerned Spectator, we then used our utmost Endeavours to dispose the *States General* to a vigorous Concurrence in the Measures necessary to stop the exorbitant Growth of the Power of *France*, lest the whole Expence of supporting his *Imperial Majesty* might have fell upon our own Shoulders. To this End we augmented our Forces by Sea and Land as an Example to the *Dutch*; and we pressed them to an Augmentation of their Forces by the remarkable Memorial of the *British Ambassador* at the *Hague*, who, by Order of his Majesty, assured them in the most solemn Manner, that if those Representations had the Success which his Majesty so ardently hoped and desired, they should find him always disposed to concert most cordially with them the future Measures which the Situation of Affairs in Europe and their mutual Interest might require, to put an End to the then Troubles.

What wiser Part could *Great-Britain* then take, than to use her utmost Efforts to prevail with the *Dutch* to concur in Measures so much for the Honour and Interest of both Nations? Did not such Conduct shew the greatest Regard to our own Interest before we declar'd ourselves or enter'd into the War? For *Great-Britain* and *Holland* united in one common Band of Friendship and Alliance, reciprocally assisting

\* *Occasional Writer*, Numb. II. p. 33, 34.



ing and assisted by each other, can give Law to the most powerful of their Neighbours ; but if they do not act with that mutual Trust and Confidence in one another, would not *Holland* soon lie at the Mercy of the first *Invader*, and *England* lose so much of its Weight in the Ballance of *Europe* as the Addition of the other thrown into the Scale amounts to ? If the *Dutch* who were so much more nearly concern'd to check the Power of *France*, from which they have formerly suffer'd so much, did not think fit to advance one *Florin*, or raise a Man, in Order to contribute thereto, what would have been the Clamour should we have precipitated ourselves into this War alone unassisted by them ? Should we not have been call'd the *Tools* and *Dupes* of the *Dutch* for exhausting our Treasure, and spilling our Blood in a Cause which so *immediately* affected them, and so *remotely* ourselves, while they reap'd the Advantage of the most beneficial Branches of our Commerce by remaining *Neuter*, which we should have lost by engaging in what might more properly be called their Cause than our own ?

With what Colour of Justice then can the Administration be charged with Want of due Regard to the Interest of their Country, in not declaring War against *France* and *Spain* before we had fortified ourselves by an Alliance with the *States-General* ? Is it not the Concern of all *Christendom*, not ours particularly, to restrain those Powers from destroying the Ballance on the Continent ? The Storm was at a great Distance from us, but hung directly over the Head of them, and might have spent its Fury there without hurting of us. Ought we then to have taken the greatest Share in the War who had the least Concern in the Consequences of it ? Where would have been the Policy of making ourselves a Party in that War ; and leaving *Holland* in the quiet enjoyment of her Neutrality ? Was it not a right Measure therefore in *England* to keep out of the War till the *Dutch* could be brought into it ?

Such were the Advantages of the Neutrality of *Great-Britain* that we not only thereby avoided the Miseries of a consuming War both by Sea and Land, but did we not enjoy a free and uninterrupted Commerce with all Parts of the World ? Did not the Nation gain by the Profits of the *Corn-Trade* only, more than the Charge of our Fleets and Armies ; and the Landed-Men gain by their Harvests more than they paid to the Land-Tax ? Did not the far greater Part of our Expence, during this *Neutrality*, circulate with-

In our own Country? Whereas in Wars on the Continent do we not send immense Sums out of the Nation? Did not our Neutrality bring the Wealth of *Europe* into *Britain*, as a War must have drain'd us of our Coin, and exhausted our vital Strength? Did we not therefore act with the greatest Regard to our own peculiar Interest in observing a *Neutrality*, and with the greatest Wisdom to maintain the Weight of this Nation, during such a *Neutrality*? Did we not augment our Force, without exhausting our Wealth, and again restore Peace abroad, by augmenting our Forces at home? Was not this maintaining our Dignity upon the Sea, and our Credit in the Councils of the contending Powers, with such happy Effects, that victorious Princes were cautious of pursuing their Conquests, from the Consideration of our Weight, and the Consequence of giving this Nation too great an Alarm?

Was not this Success of our Measures so considerably great, notwithstanding the Disadvantage we suffer'd by the slow Proceedings of the *Dutch*, that our Mediation prevail'd, procured a Cessation of Hostilities in a War where the Resistance was as feeble, as the Progress on the other Side was rapid and unbounded? Was not this War which had swallow'd up all the Imperial Countries in *Italy*, and left the *Emperor* not an Inch of Ground there, except *Mantua*, brought, by the Conduct of *Great-Britain*, to a Period in two Years; than which no War of such Extent or Importance, within the last Hundred Years, had ever so short a Continuance.

As the Part *Great-Britain* took at this Time was so much to her Honour and Interest, that it gave unspeakable Concern to you Patriots, and left you quite destitute of any Thing to say for your selves; so we find nothing but a puerile, and awkward Attempt \* to take away the Efficacy of a Production †, which gave you no little Uneasiness, for want of being able to reply to it. However something must be said to keep up the Spirit of your sinking Faction. Accordingly we find you vainly labouring three Points. The one to shew that *England* was wholly unconcerned in making the Peace between the *Emperor* and *France*; that *France* had there-

\* *Craftsman*, Vol. XII. pag. 127.

† *A Letter to the Craftsman upon the Change of Affairs in Europe, by the War that is begun against the Emperor, printed for Roberts, 1734.*

thereby most exorbitantly encreased their Power, which might hereafter be attended with bad Consequences to *Europe*; and that the Loss of the Imperial Dominions in *Italy* was owing to the *Treaty of Seville*. Upon these Points you loudly harangued, but never made a worse Figure since you commenc'd Patriots.

While *France*, fortify'd with the Alliances of *Spain* and *Sardinia*, was every where victorious, the *Emperor* almost drove out of *Italy*, and only capable of acting on the defensive in *Germany*; while some of the most powerful Members of the Empire were secretly in the Interest of the Conqueror, and only waited an Opportunity to declare themselves: In the Midst of this Series of Successes on one Side, and Losses on the other; when there was nothing to hope, and every Thing to fear from the Power of the Allies, which threatened Danger to the Ballance of *Europe* from that formidable Conjunction; did we not with equal Surprise and Pleasure see *France* stop short at once, and after so much Blood and Treasure spent, throw down her Arms, relinquish her Conquests, even giving up the Pretensions of *Stanislaus* to the Crown of *Poland*, her only avow'd Motive for beginning the War, and if not making the first Overtures of Peace herself, yet readily accepting those that were made to her?

Can we suppose with the least Colour of Probability that this Accommodation between the *Emperor* and *France* was negotiated wholly by themselves, without the Interposition, or even Privy of any other Power? If *France* could have securely rely'd on the Neutrality of the maritime Powers; or rather, if they had not given her some strong Intimations to push her Conquests no farther, could we suppose the *French* would ever have laid aside their Arms, till *Stanislaus* was left in quiet Possession of *Poland*? For what Terms could the *Emperor* have stipulated for himself? What Equivalent could he have offer'd, unassisted by the Weight and Authority of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, for so considerable a Concession? Or is it to be imagin'd, that *France* would have yielded up so important a Point, in the Situation she was in, but under the Influence of the most powerful Mediation, and an Authority not to be withstood?

What could then be more for our Honour, and for the Benefit of all *Europe*, as well as our own, than the Part *Great-Britain* took in this Affair, and the Means she made use of to bring it to a happy Conclusion? As we had no



concern in these Transactions, which occasion'd the War, nor any particular Interest at Stake, to induce us to engage in it, we acting as *Mediators* to reconcile the Differences of the contending Powers, was all that Justice and Reason requir'd of us. However, was it not necessary to take the most effectual Measures to give Weight and Force to our Negotiations, for without the latter, the other would have little Effect: Memorials and Manifestos may be answer'd by fine Speeches and fair Promises; but Fleets and Armies can only be encounter'd by Fleets and Armies.

That some Check was given to the Arms of *France* from Apprehensions of some Kind was allow'd by you, who say, that ' had the *Duke of Berwick* been empower'd ' in the first Campaign to push all the Advantages which ' he then had on the *Rhine*, before *Prince Eugene* was join'd ' by the *Prussians*, the *Danes*, the *Saxons*, and the *Hanoverians*; had he been order'd to have taken the *Elector of Bavaria* by the Hand, instead of sacrificing his Life ' and Time before *Philipsburg*; he might have over-run ' the whole *Empire* and placed that *Prince* upon the Throne ' of *Vienna* before we or the *Dutch* could have possibly ' come to his Assistance. ' \* Is it to be imagin'd that *France* had no Ambition of encreasing her Power, or extending her Dominions into *Germany*, had she been satisfy'd of Success? Was it then the Fear of provoking the *Prussians*, the *Danes*, the *Swedes*, and the *Russians*, which obliged *France* to decline so inviting an Opportunity? To have encountered the *Russians*, must have been the Thing in the World the most to be desired by the *French*, they being the great Obstacle to their Advancement of *Stanislaus* to the *Polish* Throne. And must not every one see the gaining over the *Elector*, of *Bavaria*, and the Interest to have been formed among the Princes of *Germany*, by breaking the *Pragmatick Sanction*, would have open'd a large Field of Glory to *France*? What then could stop the Career of *France*, but a Dread of the Power of that Nation; which had heretofore taught her the Dangers, which attend the carrying her Arms into the Heart of *Germany*? For whatever is pretended by some *Englishmen*, who know little of the  
Strength

Strength of *Great-Britain*, the *French* well know there is a Power still subsisting in this Nation, which on Occasion could be exerted, tho' with more Difficulty to itself, perhaps with no less Calamity to *France* than formerly. To what scandalous subterfuges were you reduced therefore, when you attributed the late Peace between *France* and the *Emperor* to *Fortune*, *Providence*, a *Coincidence of favourable Circumstances* or any Thing, rather than to the *Wisdom* and *Conduct* of the Court of *Great-Britain*? To what other Cause can we ascribe the Conduct of *France* but that of *England* and *Holland* keeping out of the War, and at length resolving to join the *Emperor*, and enter into a general War, rather than suffer *France* to grow too powerful for the rest of *Europe*? Did not these *cautions* Measures, and this firm and *unalterable Resolution* of engaging at a proper Season, keep alive the *Hopes* of the *Imperial Court*, and determined it to make no Peace but upon good Terms; at the same Time intimidated the *French*, made them cautious how they acted upon the *Rhine*, and to resolve at last, rather to settle Preliminaries for a Peace on the best Terms they could obtain, than run the Hazard of a *General War*, after so much Blood and Treasure spent in a *particular one*, to so very little Purpose? Did not therefore the *Hopes* of the *Emperor* and *Fears* of *France* being kept alive by the *Wisdom* of the *Maritime Powers* in not engaging too soon, and by their firm Resolution to engage when Things were ripe, produce *that happy Turn of Affairs*; and, prove the *real* and *efficient Cause* of the Preliminaries?

Do not all your Attempts therefore to eclipse the Honour and Prosperity of your Country, \* in silently holding the Ballance of Power, shew to what pitiful Shifts you have been drove to support your unmerited Popularity? Finding all your Opposition at this Time only tended to render the Conduct of *Great-Britain* still more and more honourably conspicuous, you then endeavour'd to magnify the exorbitant Encrease of Power arising to *France* from the reverfionary Acquisition of *Lorain*. †

But here again you only rendered yourselves still more contemptible, while you gave further Occasion to admire the Wisdom of those Councils, which so happily controul'd the Power

\* *Observation on the present Plan of Peace.* Printed for Haines, 1736.

† *Ibid.*

Power of *France*, as in Effect to say, *Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.*

The only Thing we have to regard upon the Continent is to preserve the Ballance of Power. By the Acquisition of *Lorain* to *France*, the House of *Austria* does not appear to be more endanger'd than it was before. For does not all History shew, that whenever the Dukes of *Lorain* entered into Measures against the Interest of the *French* Court, they immediatly seized the *Dutchy*; whereby it was as effectually theirs to all the Intents and Purposes of *War*, as if it had been theirs by *Right*?

Of all your memorable Arts to blacken the Ministry, there are none that discover both the Badness of your Cause, and the Corruption of your Hearts, more than your fruitless Attempt to saddle even both the Cause, and the Event of the late War on the Continent upon the Ministry of *England*, who made the *Treaties* of *Seville* and *Vienna* †. When the Success of your Misrepresentations for many Years had work'd up your *Countrymen* into a Belief of any thing you should impose upon them, we cannot marvel that you should attempt to make them swallow the grossest Absurdities and Impossibilities. May you not as well say that the *Treaties* of *Seville* and *Vienna* occasion'd the Death of the King of *Poland*, as to say they occasion'd the War between the *Emperor* and *France*? May it not as reasonably be said those *Treaties* were the Cause of the late Misunderstanding between *Spain* and *Portugal*, the *Turk* and the *Persian*, or the *Turk* and the *Muscovite*, as between the *Emperor* and *France*? What; because 6000 *Spanish* Troops were in *Tuscany*, therefore *France* attempted to penetrate into the Bowels of the Empire! Because all the Great Powers of *Europe* agreed that *Don Carlos* should be immediate Successor to the late *Great Duke*, therefore *France* attempted to set *Stanislaus* upon the Throne of *Poland*! Monstrous Absurdities to be cramm'd down the Throat of a sensible *Englishman*! Has it not always been the Politicks of the Court of *France* to interpose at Elections of the Kings of *Poland*? Will not the same Policy, that prompts them to keep up a Correspondence with the *Ottoman Porte*, prompt them also to have a Prince upon the Throne of *Poland*, who may occasionally favour their Designs upon the Empire? The Electors of *Saxony*, we are sensible, have generally liked *Ducats* better than *Louis-d'ors*. Is it any way unaccountable

† *Craftsman*, Vol. XII. Pag. 135.



unaccountable therefore that *France* should oppose, and the *Emperor* favour his Election; especially when a *Stanislaus* was in being to excite *France* to push his Interest for a Country, to which they think he had a Right? As this Struggle between *France* and the *Empire* for a King of *Poland* must naturally create a Dissention between them, is it strange that *France* should endeavour to revenge themselves on the *Emperor's* *Italian* Dominions? Could they as easily have came at *Poland* as *Italy*, or the *Rhine*, what Reason have we to believe their Strength would have been expended in the latter? You are no Strangers to such a Term in *Physick* as *Revulsion*, which teaches to remove the Evil from one Part, by proper Application, not to the part itself, but to its opposite. The Evil to *France* lay in the *North*; That that they could not easily come at; and therefore to remove it, they apply'd their Remedies in the *South*. Children have so much of *Mechanicks* as to know, if they would throw down B, which is at the Top of A, and out of their Reach, that pulling down A will answer the End as well: They know almost by Instinct, that 'tis all one whether they pull'd down B directly, or that which supports it. As therefore it is so natural to account for the Designs of *France* upon *Italy*, had the *Seville* Treaty never been made, how scandalously impositious must it be to attempt to make that the Cause? Was not *Spain* as restless under the *Quadruple Alliance* to settle *Don Carlos* in *Italy* as under that of *Seville*? The *Emperor*, never till the *Seville* Treaty took place, being to be brought to render the *Quadruple Alliance* effectual, is it not natural to believe that *Spain* would have been more ready to have united with *France* and *Sardinia*, to obtain their favourite Point against the *Emperor* than when the *Emperor* had agreed to grant it? Did, as has been unanswerably argued, \* *France* enter *Italy* by *Parma*, or *Florence*, the Dominions granted to *Don Carlos*? You know it was manifestly otherwise. You know it was the King of *Sardinia*, let *France* in to swallow up *Italy* by the Entrance of *French* Troops without the least Assistance of *Spanish* Garisons in *Tuscany*, or any Forces that came that Way.

How could the Possession of the *Duchies* of *Parma* and *Placentia* by *Don Carlos*, situated in the Heart of all *Italy*, facilitate the March of the *French* Army through *Savoy*, which is the Frontier of *Italy*? Had there been no *Spanish*  
Troops

\* A Letter to the Craftsman, upon the Change of Affairs, in Europe, 1730.

Troops in *Leghorn*, could the *Great Duke* have prevented the *Spaniards* landing there, had they been so minded, otherwise might they not, as they indeed actually did, land at *Naples* in *Sicily*, above two thirds of that Kingdom laying open to the Ocean?

As these are *Facts* that *France* and *Spain* enter'd *Italy* these Ways, and that had the *Seville Treaty* never existed, this would have been the Case, how infamously abandon'd must Men be, to falsify *Facts* in the Face of the Sun, to persuade their *Countrymen*, as thousands are, that that Treaty was the Cause of the War in *Italy*, and consequently of the Loss his *Imperial Majesty* sustain'd there.

At length we have waded through the matchless Scene of your Corruption, till it began afresh by our late Misunderstanding again with *Spain*? --- And what could *Englishmen* expect from those who had hitherto so heartily labour'd to breed Dissentions between the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, but that, when all Differences were in a fair way of being finally accommodated between them, *Satisfaction* made to private *British* Sufferers, and a new solemn Treaty of Commerce to be enter'd into: What could we expect but you Patriots would, consistent with your general Conduct, powerfully interpose to defeat both?

Accordingly we find you again exerting yourselves, to precipitate this Nation into a War with *Spain* at all Events, without first knowing whether that Crown would disavow or abet the Depredations of their Subjects in *America*. How does such Conduct agree with those Parts of your Libels, which describe us as a Bankrupt Nation, already burthen'd with such heavy Debts, and such a Multiplicity of Taxes, that even as you say the most expert Projectors will find it extremely difficult to open any new Sources, without distressing the present Generation in the most necessary Articles of Life, and entailing infinite Hardships on their Posterity. \* How does such Politicks coincide with what you have argued at other Times about the Necessity of preventing higher Taxes upon our Commodities † whereby our Rivals in Trade would have greater Opportunities of supplanting us in our most estimable Branches of Commerce? Regardless of such egregious Inconsistencies, our Ministers pursu'd their own Plan which you in your cooler Thoughts, appear to have recommended, We be-  
held

\* *Craftsman*, Vol. XII. p. 140.

† *Craftsman*, Vol. I. p. 85.

held them so happily conducting the Affairs of these Kingdoms, as to bring the Crown of *Spain* to disavow the Treatment their Subjects in *America* had given to our *Merchants*, to make Satisfaction to *British* Sufferers, and in Effect pronouncing their own Subjects *Pirates*, for their Ravages committed on the *Fair Traders* to our *British Colonies*.

And if *Spain* did not comply with the *Convention*, they so solemnly enter'd into with the Crown of *Great-Britain*, to what can an impartial *Englishman* ascribe it, but to the unhappy Prevalence of your Faction? For did you not again reiterate your old Tricks of raising a mad and outrageous Spirit in the Nation; that *Spain* might have Reason again to suspect such a Change of Hands in the *Ministry*, as would soon give them a happier Occasion to make better Terms for themselves than they could ever expect from the present Administration? Had we not the same Scene of your Political Knavery, when the *Preliminary* Articles were concluded, previous to the *Treaty of Seville*; and the like Infatuation raised prior to that of *Vienna*, by your shameful Misrepresentations and detestable Iniquities?

For your Days of Exultation having ever been in *European* Feuds and Distractions, what could we expect upon the Appearance of a *Convention*, which bid fair for a durable Pacification, but an Attempt to spirit up the Nation against it? What, quoth your Juncto, a *Convention* finally adjusting all Differences between *Spain* and *Great-Britain*, and bringing the whole to a determinate Ballance and liquidated Sum! A sure Prelude this to a future *Treaty of Commerce*, to put our *American Navigation* upon the most desirable Footing. If we suffer this to pass, without raising a Ferment in the Nation, to prevent its happy Effects, all our Hopes are for ever blasted. You therefore summon'd your Cabal, and appointed your *Coadjutor* Speaker of the Secret Committee, who, we are inform'd, address'd himself to this Effect. *My worthy Friends and fellow Labourers*. 'Tis now above fourteen Years since we have struggled with unwearied Industry to destroy the great *Leviathan* of Power. To this End we have spar'd no Art, no Expence; you have speech'd it *within* Doors, I have harangu'd *without*: We play'd our Tricks with the *Treaty of Hanover*, labour'd to divide the *Allies*, and spirited up our Enemies to persist in their Depredations in *America*, and to insist on the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, and the Establishment of the *Ostend Trade*: But unhappily



for our Cause we labour'd in vain; the cursed *Treaty of*  
*Seville* damp'd the Career of our Patriotism, and that of  
*Vienna*, you are too sensible, almost threw us into a Fit of  
 Desperation ——— To keep up our Spirits however, the  
 Demise of his *Polish Majesty* intervened, and again disturb'd  
 the Tranquillity of *Europe* — But unhappily for our In-  
 terests, the Object of our Hate still kept the Nation out of  
 a destructive War, and gave such Advantages to the Trad-  
 ing Interest by our *Neutrality*, as left us nothing to urge  
 in Maintenance of our Patriotism: This was almost an  
 Heart-breaking Period. We are now near worn out in the  
 Cause; we have scribbled our Eyes out in *Craftsmen ordi-*  
*nary*, and *extraordinary*, in *Dissertations on Parties*, *Trot's*  
 and *Oldcastle's* Letters, to keep up from Time to Time  
 the Spirit of our Party, and even rouse *That* of Rebellion  
 in the Nation, to obtain our long desir'd End---We are still  
 where we set out: the Monster stands his Ground. Our last  
 Effort is now to be made---The Courier is at length arriv'd,  
 a *Convention* is come; a *Convention*, curse on the Name, which  
 has at last brought all Differences between us and *Spain* to  
 a final Ballance, and not only this but gives Assurance of a  
 further Definitive Treaty of Commerce for the future Security  
 of our Navigation in *America*. Should this take place, we are  
 undone forever: all our Patriotism must inevitably be turn'd  
 into Scorn and Derision; and our Names, I fear, be detesta-  
 ble to latest Posterity. Let us lay our Hands to the Plow  
 once more: let us exert our *Pens*, our *Tongues*, and even  
 draw our *Purses*, to gain our Point.——You are sensi-  
 ble, *my worthy Friends*, I have run through a large For-  
 tune in Support of the Cause: you have all likewise not  
 been sparing in *pecuniary Rewards* to support the common  
 Interest. Once more then let us vigorously exert our-  
 selves to defeat this *Convention*, and thereby prevent that  
 Pacification consequent thereupon. The Nation is ripe  
 for our Impressions: let us not only plentifully disperse our  
 Politicks in every Shape that may effectually inflame the  
 Passions and impose on the Judgments of our *Country-*  
*men*, as we have very often successfully done, but let us  
 again try the Power of *Gold*: I'll throw in my Mite,  
 tho' almost reduc'd to Beggary in the Cause.——We have  
 work'd up many in *Parliament* to imagine the *Minister*  
 cannot possibly stand his Ground. These are easily  
 sway'd.——Others are stagger'd with the Delays of the  
 Court of *Spain*, and think the *Minister* must fall, if a  
 War

War ensues. Should we be again disappointed, our last Effort is even the Dissertation of *Parliament* itself: This may possibly have the desirable Effect: it may encourage *Spain* not to comply with the *Convention*, from the Sedition we shall raise in the Nation, and thereby defeat the Conclusion of a satisfactory Definitive Treaty. — *France*, we know aims at getting greater Advantages in the Trade to *America*. — If we can so distress the *English Ministry*, that *France* may be encouraged to a strict Union with *Spain*, in order to prevent so beneficial an *American Treaty* with that Crown, as will satisfy this Nation, we still have a fair Chance for Power.\* That this Speech animated you to pursue its Dictates we have experienced. Thus have you *Worthies* heartily labour'd of late, as you appear ever to have done, in the destructive Cause of Faction, to destroy the dearest Interests of your Country. And if *Spain*, or any other Nation have endeavour'd to take Advantage of the divided State of this Nation, to whom are we indebted? If the Nation is at length forced into a War to oblige the Court of *Spain*, by Dint of Arms, to do Justice to these Kingdoms, to whom are we beholden but to you our *Patriots*, who instead of giving Weight to our Negotiations Abroad, by promoting an Union at Home, sounded the Trumpet of Sedition and Rebellion among us to obstruct those Days of Peace and Prosperity, which to that Time, had so high'y advanc'd the Interests of this Nation.

For agreeable to your own Principles, by keeping out of *European Wars* so long as we did, has not the Trading Part of the Nation saved *Six Hundred Thousand, Four Hundred and Fifty Pounds per Annum* by our *Exports* to *Spain*; prevented that Reduction of the national Revenue you have suggested, \* and thereby many Years saved the *Being of the Sinking Fund*? Did not therefore, consistent with your own Concessions, every Class of Traders from the *Merchant* to the *Retailer*, experience the great Advantage from this Preservation of the general Trade and Navigation, till the Commencement of the present War?

Besides, by keeping out of War so long, did not this prevent the Encrease of our *Debts* and *Taxes*, whereby an Encrease in the Price of our Produce and Manufactures has been likewise prevented, and consequently our Rival Nations thereby not so much empower'd to injure our Commerce?

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\* *Case of the Sinking Fund*, 1735. p. 127.

Have not such Measures which have been pursued, happily preserved publick Credit, naturally reduced the Interest of Money; prevented our Gains being so much greater by trading with the *Exchequer* at home than by trafficking abroad; and thereby consequently, not only, that time, greatly advanced our Trade, but prov'd the most effectual Means, whereby our Neighbours have been obstructed from making those Encroachments on our Commerce, which their greater Poverty and Cheapness of Labour would otherwise have enabled them to do? Has not our being so very cautious of engaging in Wars, when other Trading Nations aim'd at a *Neutrality*, whereby to snap at all the Advantages we should lose by engaging without them, been the only Measures, by which the Trade of this Nation could have been preserved in the Condition it was till War took place? Have not our national Expences been so wisely order'd by their consisting in occasional naval Equipments, as to be of the greatest Benefit to the Trading Interest in general, by maintaining our Honour, without diminishing our Wealth? Could any other Measures have so much mended the Condition of our Affairs, that we can now in Time of War borrow Money at a very moderate Interest, to supply the Exigencies of the Government? Has not the Landed Interest by such Measures had a long Breathing-while, and been sav'd at a Medium above *Eight hundred thousand Pounds a Year*: Which has been a *Saving* to that Interest by so many Years keeping out of a War, of above *Sixteen Millions of Money*? Does not this demonstrate to what good Purposes the *Sinking Fund* has been apply'd; and that such Measures only could have preserv'd the Being of that *Fund*, and prevented its total Annihilation as your Conduct has evidently aim'd at?

And here I cannot but observe how you have pretended to be under the greatest Concern for the inviolable Application of this *Fund* to the Payment of our Debts; when nothing more obviously appears to be levell'd at the absolute Destruction of the very *Being* of that *Fund* than your Politicks. For as we read it from your own Pens, *That upon our engaging in a War, the Revenues arising from Trade may be so greatly lessen'd, as to reduce the Sinking Fund to its primitive Nothing*; \* so does not your being so strenuous at all Events to plunge the Nation into a War, manifest that the

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\* *Case of the Sinking Fund.* p. 128.



Bent of your Conduct was nothing less if possible, than to rob the Nation of that *Fund*; and consequently to postpone the Payment of our *national Debts*, that you might make that your greatest Topick of Clamour and Discontent.

However sanguine to preserve that sacred Treasure you may have appeared to have been to those who have not attentively watch'd your Conduct; yet does not the whole Course of your Writings prove, that you are Enemies to the Being of any such *Fund* at all? Have you not told us the *Reduction of Interest*, which first gave Being to the *Sinking Fund* was taking away so much of the *spending Money* of the Nation; that the *Diminution of Taxes* should have went Hand in Hand with the *Reduction of Interest*; \* that bringing our *Irredeemable Debts* into a State of *Redemption*, in order to bring about the *Reduction of Interest*, was unnecessary; that therefore the *Proprietors of the Irredeemables* did wrong in acquiescing to the *Alteration their Properties* then underwent: † as likewise, that the *Incorporation of the national Debt* into the *Three great Companies*, was prejudicial to *Publick Credit*. These Assertions with a Strain of Sentiments of the like Nature, which have constantly flow'd from you, to lessen the Merit of those to whom we are indebted for bringing our Debts into a State of *Redemption*, show that you have struck at the very Being of a *Sinking Fund*. For how could such a *Fund* have ever taken place at all, had not our Debts been first brought into a *redeemable State*; and the *Reduction of Interest* taken place in Consequence thereof? Is it not impossible that such a *Fund*, should ever have had *Being* at all, if the *Diminution of our Taxes* had went Hand in Hand with the *Reduction of Interest*? Are not such Principles also destructive of *national Credit* and *Parliamentary Faith*? For are not the *Duties* also appropriated to the Payment of the Interest of our Debts, a Security to the *Publick Creditors* till the *Redemption of the Principal*? Was not this done by *Parliament* that the Property of the Creditors might be more secure than when it was settled on *temporary Funds*?

As you, *Gentlemen*, therefore can have a Claim to no Honour, either for projecting that *Sinking Fund*, or being desirous

\* *Considerations on the national Debts, Sinking Fund, and the States of Publick Credit.* Printed 1729. p. 82.

† *State of the National Debt.* Printed for Franklin, p. 59.

rous that it should be preserved and encreased when projected, is it not unaccountably inconsistent, that you should presume now to be such Sticklers for it? Is not that *Minister* only entitled by his Country to that Honour, who was the legitimate Parent of that Fund; and who has nursed and cherish'd it for the Easement of *Land* in general; and would most certainly have discharged many Millions more of our National Debts, had not you labour'd to defeat his Honest Intentions towards his Country? What Nation has manifested such Oeconomy and Management of the publick Money? While *France*, *Spain*, and the late *Emperor* were exhausting the vital Strength of their respective Dominions, has not *Great Britain* been encreasing hers? We have consumed no Millions upon the *Continent*, nor enrich'd the *Money'd Interest* at the Expence of the Nation. Does not the great Declension of the Revenues in *old Spain*, the Arrearages of their Navy and Army, the Reduction of the Royal Expence itself, and arbitrary Reduction of the Interest of their publick Debts, which has ruin'd Numbers of their Trading Subjects: Do not these Facts make it indisputably apparent that *Spain* has quarrell'd with *England* at no little Disadvantage? If the ill Politicks of that Court occasion a Stagnation of the *British* Commerce with that Nation; does it not affect themselves in Proportion as our *Exports* thither augment their *Finances*, and our *Imports* from thence prevent the Beggary and Misery of the Trading part of their People? When they injure us in our Trade, do they not necessarily injure themselves also, and this in a greater Degree than they would do by breaking with any other Nation; none taking so much of their Produce as *England* does? Is setting up an *Neapolitan Prince* ample Compensation to *Spain* for the immense Profusion of Treasure they have been at to bring it about? and who may one day be unmade King of the *Sicilies*, by the same Power that made him Successor to the late *Great Duke of Tuscany*?

What Advantages therefore has *Spain* hitherto obtain'd by quarrelling with *Great Britain*? Does not *Geralдино* heartily repent his listening to your wicked Insinuations to discredit the Administration, by representing the *Minister* as not daring to engage in a War to right the Nation, tho' *Spain* should go greater Lengths than they had done with this Kingdom? Weak *Minister*, to be thus play'd upon; and duped by suggestions that any one might have easily seen thro', tho' little acquainted with the State of this Nation; and the Spirit of a *British* Parliament!

And

And however you have labour'd to magnify the Wisdom, and Integrity of a foreign *Minister* with a View only to depreciate those of a *British* one; yet how does it appear that the Measures of a neighbouring Court, who have no Faction to struggle with, have been more conspicuous for good Policy and Uprightness than those of our own Nation? Not to mention the immense and uncontrollable Extravagance of the Publick Money at almost every Court in *Europe*, do we not know how many Millions Sterling, the late War on the *Rhine* and in *Italy* cost that Nation? Are not the great Expences in *Poland*, and to the *Dantzickers* still fresh in every ones Memory? What Equivalent was obtained for those Millions, and the Loss of such Numbers of their greatest Generals and military Officers? Was not the Bulk of this great Expence sunk out of their own Territories; whereas have not very near the whole Expence of this Nation for 20 Years past, been amongst ourselves? Have we not something to show for them; a Royal Navy which surprizes all *Europe*, and Magazines of naval and military Stores that shew how the Moneys rais'd have been apply'd? As you have impotently labour'd indeed to depreciate the State and Condition of our Navy, with a View only to make other Nations believe, that even our Fleets on which we wholly depend are in no Condition to defend us; to the End that they might be the more easily excited to a Union to destroy them. As nothing has given greater Affliction to your Faction than to see the Bulk of our Revenues expended on our naval Power, and that thereby rais'd to to such a Pitch as *England* never before beheld; can we marvel to find You so shamefully misrepresenting the State of that as you have done of every thing else?

But to proceed. So inconsiderable a Part of the Moneys that have been rais'd in the Nation for these 20 Years past, being spent out of the Kingdom, must not the *Landed, Trading* and *Money'd Interests* have all reap'd the Advantage of it; the one by keeping up the Price of Lands, the other by encreasing their national Stock in Trade, and the latter by such Measures upholding Publick Credit? If the spending Millions in the Queen's Wars in *Italy, Spain, Portugal* and *Flanders*, was draining us of so much substantial Treasure, and therefore a *real* Loss to the Nation, is the spending our Revenues at home an *imaginary* Gain? What other Conduct could have so much mended the Condition of our Affairs in general; and enabled us to supply the Government with almost any Sums at a low Interest? If a  
a *Mini-*



a *Minister* arduously endeavouring to keep this Nation out of a War, was not the only Way to pay off our Debts, and reduce our Taxes, ease the *Land*, and advance Trade in general, may we not very reasonably desire you *Gentlemen*, to inform us what other Policy would have answer'd these great Ends? Does it not most demonstrably appear, through the Course of this short Paper, that had not your Faction been a dead Weight upon the Councils of the Nation, our Enemies would not have dared to have put us to the occasional Expence they have done: We might have saved those Millions, that are justly to be charg'd to the Account of Sedition.

As peaceful Measures, and negotiating the Nation out of Difficulties were ever dissatisfactory to you, we cannot expect that any War, or any Management of it, will be otherwise. We find you in Parliament, calling for all Papers, all Accounts relating to the War; and tho' no reasonable Information has been refused you, what great Discoveries have you been able to make of any Mismanagement in the Conduct of the War?

That his *Majesty* was and is determined to procure Satisfaction for past Injuries to his Trading Subjects, and Security for their future Navigation, can by nothing more manifestly appear than in the peculiar Choice of a *Gentleman* to conduct the War in *America*, who had often in *Parliament* express'd his Dissatisfaction with our Forbearance with the Court of *Spain*; his Majesty doubtless, very wisely judging such an one to be the properest Person to revenge the Injuries this Nation had sustained, and procure us an honourable Peace. And has not the Admiral's Success hitherto answer'd the great Expectations his Majesty had from his Expedition? And were not his Orders absolute, to extend his Conquest to *Carthagera*?

But we had great Reason to believe, from the State of *Old Spain*, that the brave *Admiral's* Success would have forced the Enemy to have granted us a satisfactory and honourable Peace, without laying us under the Necessity of greater Expence, and pushing our Arms further in *America*, to give Umbrage to other Nations. Are not *France* and *Holland* interested in the *Spanish West-India Trade* as well as we? Tho' the one Power has shew'd themselves too ready to assist the Enemy, under Pretence of defending their own Colonies, &c. the other has not shew'd themselves so ready to assist *Great-Britain*. When we were arming therefore, and another Power was arming too, was it not prudent

to

to arm against a united Force we might possibly have to encounter? Small Succours therefore to *Admiral Vernon* would not have enabled him to have struck the *decisive* Blow we aim at, or impower'd him to do more Execution that would expedite a good Peace, than he was able to do without such small Succours.

*America* being the Seat of War, where the Seas and Climate are destructive of our Men and Shipping, it is the Wisdom of an Administration to take all prudent Measures to render it short and successful. Is not a formidable Armament most likely to do this, prevent our Navy from laying long to rot in those Seas, and our Men from being sacrificed without doing that Execution necessary to put an End to the War? Had not our Court projected the Destruction of the *Spanish Fleet at Ferol*, would not this Armament have been sooner at *Jamaica*? And been of more Service to *Admiral Vernon* by destroying that Fleet in *Europe*, than to have sent him such Succours as would have answer'd no good Purpose at all? Was not this the most natural Measure to have enabled the Admiral afterwards to have push'd the War in *America* without Opposition? Was that Design in *Europe* less honourable to the *Ministry* who projected it, though frustrated by contrary Winds, and other unavoidable Accidents, than if it had prov'd successful?

Could such Fleets as we have now in *Europe* and *America*, have been fitted out without being of temporary Injury to Trade? Were not those occasional *Embargoes*, which have been laid, indispensably necessary to man the Navy? Did not that *Embargo* laid on *Ireland* prove as great a Disappointment to *France*, as it was beneficial to our selves? Yet have not these *Embargoes*, without which the Fleet could never have been mann'd, undergone the Severity of your Censure? Which shews our Fleets were fitted out, mann'd and victuall'd sooner than you really desir'd, instead of later than you wish'd for.

The *Merchants* 'tis true, were great Sufferers at the Beginning of the War, before we could not possibly get the Fleet out we now have; which could be no little Pleasure to you Patriots, lest you should want Matter to complain off. But has not the Enemy been great Sufferers also? Have not we an Hundred Trading Vessels where *Spain* has one? In proportion to their Trade, have we not obtained greater Advantages over them than could rationally have been expected? We have no Reason to believe but the Court of *Spain* is well convinc'd that the Ballance of Success is on the Side of

*Great-Britain*; and this perhaps more considerably than many are aware of. Has not *Admiral Haddock* received the grateful and generous Thanks of the *Mediterranean Traders*, for the vigilant Protection he has given to our Trade in those Seas? with which the Merchants are so well satisfied, that the Insurance on the most valuable Ships, which now sail without Convoy, is so low as within One-half per Cent. of what is given with those that sail with. Was not a very valuable *Lisbon Fleet* preserved by taking the *Princessa* Man of War? And since *Admiral Vernon* has been in *America*, by the last Advices from *Jamaica*, we are informed, that within 150 Leagues of that *Island* there have been Five *English Ships* only taken by the *Spaniards*; three of which have been retaken?

The large Quantities of *British Manufactures* already thrown in upon the Coasts of *New-Spain* since the Rupture between the Crowns, together with the considerable Quantity sent by a late Fleet, will not a little contribute to compensate for the Losses our Traders have sustain'd by the War; and prove as prejudicial to his *Catholick Majesty's* Revenues as beneficial to this Nation.

Upon the whole, it appears, that all your Cavils and Objections against the Management of the War, are of the same Complexion with those raised against our peaceful Measures; only with a View to clog the Wheels of Government, and distress and embarrass publick Affairs in general.

But of all the memorable Parts of your Conduct there are none seem to equal those of your late *parliamentary Secession*, to precipitate the Nation into a War at all Events; and your *Impeachment* of the *Minister* now we are engag'd in one, to render it as unsuccessful as you could. For let us suppose for a Moment, what every honest *Englishman* ought to dread the Apprehension of, that your Faction had prevail'd to displace the *Minister*, what would have been the immediate State of *Publick Credit*? Where is the *Gentleman* among the greatest of you, whose Abilities, Weight and Reputation to manage the *Money Affairs* of this Nation, could have so well supported the Honour and Interest of these Kingdoms at this most critical Point of Time, as that *Minister* at the Head of our Finances now does, and always has? On such an arbitrary and tyrannical Change of the *British Ministry* as you aimed at, would not *France* and *Spain* have taken immediate Advantage of the general Confusion that must inevitably have ensued? What Weight would a

*Bolingbroke's*



*Bolingbroke's* Faction have had with the *States-General* to support our Interest, which so scandalously betray'd them in the confederate War? Is not this playing the same wicked Game over again that you always have, to inflame and divide the Nation, that the Enemy might not lose so happy an Opportunity to distress your dear Country?

Could such a Scheme be hatch'd by any One but the great *Betrayer* of his Country; who has made you his common Tools and Instruments to execute every detestable Jobb, he shall be prompted to from the Lust of Power, or to serve the Purposes of a Court, whole *Pensioner* he is, to answer present Views against the Interests of this Nation? Whatever Influence that *Traitor* to his Country may have had over you; whatever Influence foreign Gold may have had over you, to put you upon running such desperate Lengths at a Crisis the most important perhaps that *England* yet ever saw: Be whatever will your Motive to such a mad and unaccountable Procedure, what could you expect to be the Event of it? Your Heads must be quite turn'd with Faction, if you could persuade yourselves, that Numbers of the honestest and wisest *Gentlemen* on whom you depended to support your wicked Design, would not be ashamed of it, and for ever abandon your Party with Contempt and Indignation? For what could be more arbitrary and tyrannical, more unparliamentary, and more destructive of the Liberty of the Subject, than to attempt to accuse and condemn a *Member of the House of Commons*, unheard; to condemn Him by general and vague Suggestions, void of all Colour of substantial Evidence? What could be more cruel and unjust than to endeavour to condemn a *Gentleman* by broaching groundless and false Accusations; such as might with equal Truth be alledged against any *Member of Parliament* as against the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*? Do not such Proceedings rather resemble a Popish Inquisition than a *British* Tribunal of publick Justice?

'Tis not long since Numbers of the Publick Creditors both within Doors and without thought a certain *Patriot* deserv'd to be hang'd for his late Scheme to pillage them of a quarter Part of their Properties; yet would not that *Gentleman* have thought it the greatest Infringment on the Liberties of an *Englishman*, contrary to all Law and Justice, unparliamentary, and anti-constitutional, if he had been condemn'd to the Gallows without a Hearing, without Evidence? Many might have pleaded they were convinced in

their own Consciences of the Iniquity of the Project, and the bad Heart of the Projector ; but was this sufficient to have convicted our *Patriot* ? yet this very *Patriot* was an Advocate for such pretended conscientious Conviction ; a Conviction to condemn a *Gentleman* at Will, without *Facts* or *Evidence* for such Condemnation ; or even without hearing his Accusers, or having the Privilege of doing himself Justice. Is it possible *Englishmen* can ever put one of their Fellow Subjects into such a Situation ? God forbid they should ! If a Precedent of this Nature be once made, we are of all Men the most miserable. By such a Precedent the broadest Path would be made to the certain Destruction of the Commons of *England* that can be ever thought of.

But by what sort of *Evidence* and *Conviction* you meant to condemn the *Honourable Person* you accused, is apparent from this Pourtrature of your inimitable Patriotism ; a Sort of Evidence and Conviction founded on a Series of the most unparallel'd Lies, the most detestable Forgeries, and infamous Misrepresentations that were ever broach'd in any Nation, or at any Time to deceive the People ; *Evidence* and *Conviction* founded on a Train of the most diabolical Falshoods and supported only by Sophistry, Noise and Confidence.

Do not *False Accusers* and Misrepresenters of Publick Affairs merit the same Punishment that truly wicked *Ministers* deserve ? We will suppose the Tables to be turned ; and you *Gentlemen*, called to an Account by Parliament for your past Conduct, what a Figure would you make there ? When your own avow'd Writings and your own Speeches in Parliament at one time shall be brought to justify the general Measures which have been pursu'd ; and to condemn your own Conduct at other times, will you not be confounded to overthrow such Self-conviction ? When it shall be prov'd, that you have libell'd, insulted and vilify'd the sacred Person of Majesty, to raise a Spirit of Rebellion in the Nation, and alienate the Affections of the People from their Sovereign, the Lenity and Wisdom of whose Government is so conspicuous to all wise and honest Men, what can you pretend to urge in your Justification ? When it shall be proved that you have attempted to break in upon the Royal Prerogative, by your memorable *military Scheme* to erect a fourth Power in the Constitution destructive of the other three : When it shall be prov'd that this was the boldest Attempt that ever was made in *England* to make the whole Civil Power dependent on a *military Synod*, and thereby totally

tally to destroy the Liberties of this Nation, how can you defend yourselves from so heavy a Charge? Cannot it be prov'd also that you have caballed with foreign Ministers at home and abroad to the manifest Disadvantage of your own Country? Is it not demonstrable from the whole Course of your Libels, that you have given a wrong Face to all our foreign Transaction, and scandalously bely'd the Administration to raise Sedition and give Weight to your Party? Can any Thing be more fully proved against you than the Injustice of that Charge you have brought against the *Ministry*, of the Misapplication of the Publick Money? Have you not in this important particular shewed the vilest Arts of Miscalculation and Accountantship that ever appear'd in Print, † and which have been demonstrated so from *Figures* and *Facts*? When it shall appear that you have represented the Majority of the three last Parliaments as corrupt and mercenary, only for keeping your Faction in Subjection, how will you be able to clear yourselves from so weighty an Accusation? Has it not been often made appear, that your Attempts to abolish the *Riot Act*, and disband the Troops kept up to secure the Peace of the Nation, were only to give Rebellion a better Chance for Success, that you might, we may reasonable suppose, carry your Point in the general Confusion? What View could you have in your constant Struggles to repeal the *Septennial Bill*, but to employ those Hands in civil Strife, that ought to be employ'd in cultivating the Land, and to make the whole Country one Year in Three, resemble more the Madness of a Bacchanal, than the Order of a civiliz'd Society? But 'tis endless to run through your whole System of Iniquity.

I'll be merciful, and not at present triumph over the unfortunate and afflicted; for 'tis certainly a most melancholy Consideration to You, *Gentlemen*, to lose by one single Act, all Reputation within doors and without, and thereby endanger your Seats in Parliament. While you kept to general Declamation, Wit and Drollery, you supported some Degree of Character amongst such who were deceived by too much Credulity and want of Attention; but when you pretended to *Facts*, *Evidence* and *Proof*, 'tis no Wonder you have lost all

† Vid. *Some Considerations concerning the Publick Funds, the Publick Revenues, and the Annual Supplies.* Printed for Roberts, 1735.